

In This  
Issue

VITAL READING FOR ALL WHO WORK

AFL

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American

FEBRUARY 1958  
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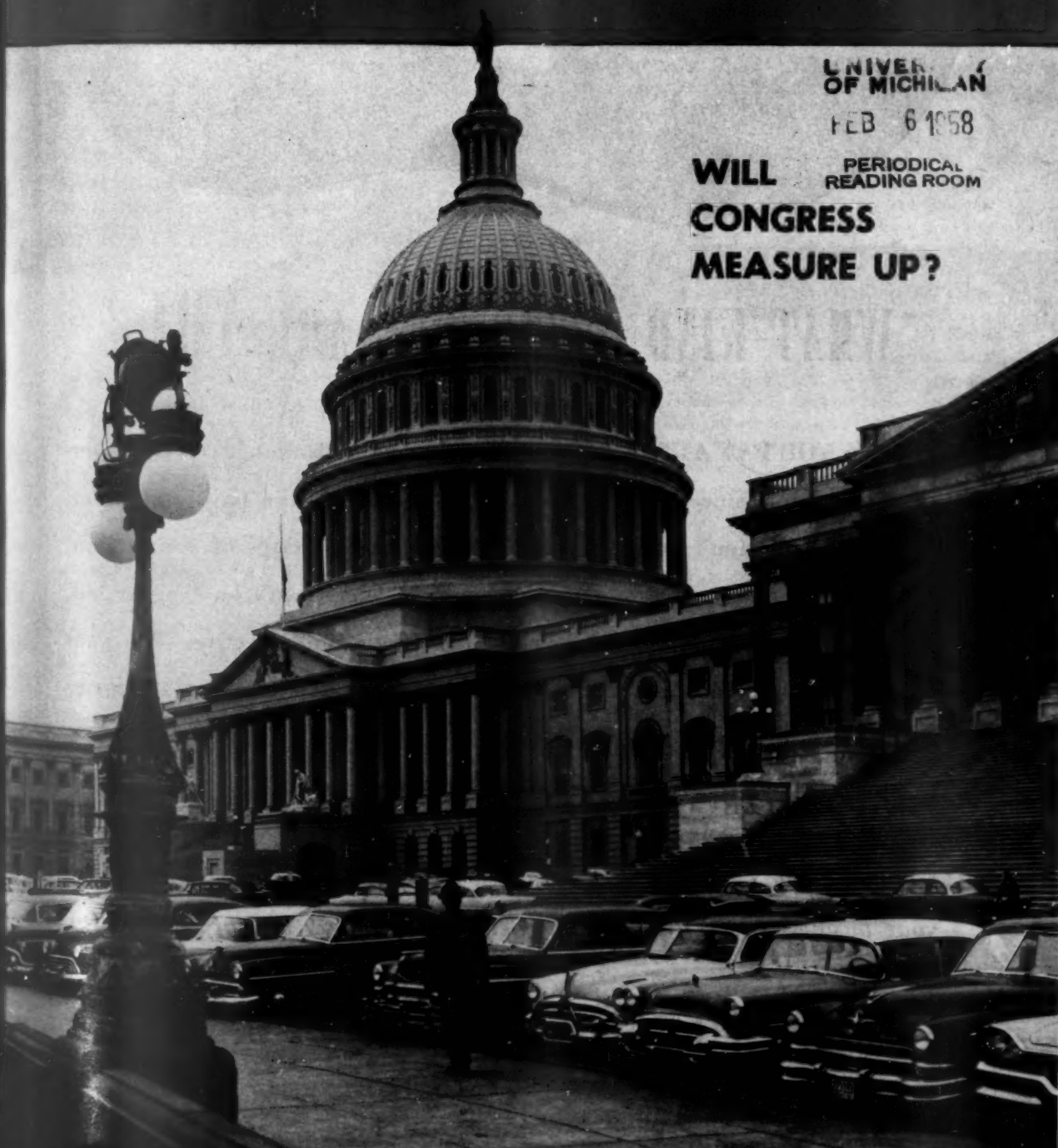


# FEDERATIONIST

UNIVERSITY  
OF MICHIGAN

FEB 6 1958

WILL PERIODICAL  
CONGRESS READING ROOM  
MEASURE UP?





## WHAT KIND OF MEMBER ARE YOU?

**UNLESS YOU PAY ATTENTION** to what your union is doing, you can't consider yourself a sincere trade unionist. And you can't be paying attention properly if you don't make it a rule to attend the meetings of your union. The importance of consistent attendance at meetings can't be exaggerated.

We want our unions to be clean, democratic and effective. We want our unions to deserve the esteem of our neighbors. It's up to us, the members, to see to it that our unions always have these qualities. And that means that we must turn out for union meetings. Your union will be what you want it to be—if you always do your part. So, no matter what else you may feel like doing, when you hear there's a union meeting scheduled, *make it your business to be there and participate to the very best of your ability.*

## GOOD MEMBERS MAKE GOOD UNIONS



*American*

# FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

FEBRUARY, 1958

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

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## *Great Moral Wrong*

Whether we will or not, the question of slavery is the question, the all-absorbing topic, of the day. All of us wish this question settled, wish it out of the way. The people of the whole nation agree that this question ought to be settled, and yet it is not settled, and the reason is that they are not yet agreed how it shall be settled.

To us it appears natural to think that slaves are human beings; men, not property; that some of the things, at least, stated about men in the Declaration of Independence apply to them as well as to us.

I say we think, most of us, that this charter of freedom applies to the slave as well as to ourselves; that the class of arguments put forward to batter down that idea are also calculated to break down the very idea of free government, even for white men, and to undermine the very foundations of free society.

We think slavery a great moral wrong, and while we do not claim the right to touch it where it exists, we wish to treat it as a wrong in the Territories, where our votes will reach it. We think that a respect for ourselves, a regard for future generations and for the God that made us, require that we put down this wrong where our votes will properly reach it.

We think that species of labor an injury to free white men.

In its political aspect, does anything in any way endanger the perpetuity of this Union but that single thing—slavery? What ever endangered this Union except slavery? Did any other thing ever cause a moment's fear? Can any man believe that the way to save the Union is to extend and increase the only thing that threatens the Union, and to suffer it to grow bigger and bigger?

*Abraham Lincoln, March, 1860.*

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*With Malice Toward None...*

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The eyes of a troubled nation are on the Capitol.

# Congress Goes to Work

**C**ONGRESS is again in session. And the American people are watching closely to see what the national legislature will do about the grave problems now confronting the nation. They are also keeping their eyes on the White House, hoping that the Chief Executive will demonstrate the sound leadership which the difficult times require.

Labor wants effective action taken without delay to pull the national economy out of its downward drift. Unemployment is mounting alarmingly. The drop in purchasing power is having widespread adverse effects.

The AFL-CIO expects to lay its program for shaking the economy out of the doldrums before Congress in the near future. This program will stress the need for resumption of economic growth and an improved relationship between the country's prodigious ability to produce and its capacity to consume.

In the new session of Congress the AFL-CIO will fight for a realistic program of national security and substantial social gains. Protection of welfare funds, school aid, expansion of minimum wage coverage and major improvements in social security will be among labor's top goals.

Congress is expected to study intensely the question of Soviet mili-

tary-technological progress and the reports that American defenses have weakened. The AFL-CIO has served notice that it favors all steps necessary to build up our defenses and strengthen the alliance of the free world against the Soviet threat.

Labor will support all necessary spending for defense and government revenues large enough to support the expenditures. It will, however, seek adjustments in the tax laws to make them more equitable to low-income and middle-income families and to end costly special privileges.

Labor also is prepared to battle for a broad housing program, aid to depressed areas, salary increases for federal workers, fair Taft-Hartley revisions and a realistic foreign policy.

The AFL-CIO will push for improvements in the worker-protecting Walsh-Healey and Davis-Bacon Acts requiring payment of prevailing wages on government contracts.

The labor movement will be watching Congress closely to see what kind of legislation shapes up pertaining directly to unions. The position of the AFL-CIO on such legislation was made clear at its recent convention.

Labor is prepared to support any measures which would bolster the ability of the union movement to fulfill its responsibilities and achieve its

legitimate objectives. However, the AFL-CIO will vigorously fight proposals which, while described as intended to protect workers from corrupt influences, seek in reality to prevent unions from effectively carrying out their proper tasks. "Right to work" will be opposed.

The AFL-CIO is again urging Congress to approve disclosure legislation for health, welfare and pension plans. Employer groups have been successful up to now in preventing the passage of such needed legislation.

Labor has made known that it will oppose any bills which could pave the way for legislation requiring unions to be licensed. The freedom enjoyed by American workers and their unions has always been one of the nation's greatest assets in the struggle with totalitarianism, and the AFL-CIO will therefore reject any proposals whose purpose is to curtail or undermine that essential freedom.

Other subjects in which labor is intimately concerned are the Hells Canyon federal dam project, defense of the TVA, a sound farm program, liberalization of the immigration laws, improved unemployment and workmen's compensation programs, and civil rights programs to guarantee every citizen equal opportunity and equal rights without regard to his race, creed or color.

# Strengthen Tax Structure, AFL-CIO Urges Congress

**R**EMOVAL of weaknesses in the nation's tax structure was urged last month by Stanley H. Ruttenberg, AFL-CIO director of research, in testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee. He presented labor's recommendations for cutting federal taxes without reducing total federal revenues so that the United States can deal effectively with the problem of a declining economy plus the Soviet scientific threat.

Mr. Ruttenberg rejected the idea that revenue would decline if taxes were cut for citizens in the low and middle brackets.

He told the committee that \$9,000,000,000 could be collected by the government by "eliminating many of the special tax privileges and loopholes."

The AFL-CIO's research chief called for a \$100 increase in individual exemptions.

"The growing cost of our military, economic and social programs, as well as a necessary tax cut for low- and middle-income taxpayers, can be met by closing the various tax-escape devices that have been allowed to permeate our tax system," Mr. Ruttenberg told the lawmakers.

"In recent years the tax structure has become increasingly unfair. Sales, excise and payroll taxes have made state and local taxes more regressive at the same time that the income tax base has been constantly eroded at the federal level. This combination has resulted in placing a greater and greater degree of the tax burden on those taxpayers least able to bear it."

Referring to recent Soviet scientific advances necessitating "large-scale expenditures for military defense," he observed that the United States at this time is "also lagging far behind in many fields of economic and social needs." Our growing population, he said, places many responsibilities upon the government.

Among these responsibilities he listed new school buildings, more and

better-paid teachers, health programs, additional hospitals, care for the aged, housing for low- and middle-income families, slum clearance and urban redevelopment.

The combination of heavy defense costs and the outlays required for needed programs promoting the welfare of the American people "means that taxes will have to remain high," Mr. Ruttenberg said. But it should not be too difficult to obtain much of the money needed for these programs, he added, since a growing economy provides "an ever-enlarged income base from which to raise revenue."

Just now, however, the economy is sagging, Mr. Ruttenberg pointed out. He referred to declining orders, falling production and rising unemployment.

"To aid in halting this downturn," he said, "tax cuts for low- and middle-income taxpayers, in the form of higher levels of income tax exemption, are essential. This would strengthen consumer incomes, improve the ability of the great mass of American consumers to buy and, in a real sense, improve the health of the economy."

"The resulting more prosperous economy will be better able to support the heavy defense and military expenditures called for, or that should be called for, to meet the expansionist threats of the Soviet Union. A healthy, more prosperous economy can also meet more equitably the enlarged economic and social needs of a rapidly growing population."

"Granting tax cuts to low- and middle-income taxpayers need not reduce revenue. As a matter of fact, the economy would be strengthened if many of the weaknesses in our tax structure were removed."

"The erosions in the tax base in recent years have reduced revenue substantially. At the same time the burden of taxes has been shifted to the low- and middle-income taxpayers. The federal tax base must be

improved both to insure the growth of the economy and to increase potential revenue.

"As a start, Congress should raise individual income tax exemptions from the present level of \$600 per person to \$700. The immediate loss in revenue can be more than offset by a bold approach to eliminating the tax privileges granted in the capital gain, depletion allowance, dividend credits, depreciation, stock option, family partnerships and split-income provisions which have been added to our tax structure in the past decade or more."

"The inequity of the tax base, the unfair burden on low- and middle-income taxpayers—at the federal, state and local levels—would be improved in part by raising the level of federal individual income tax exemptions. But at the same time equity and revenue needs require closing the many loopholes in the law."

"Equity, economic growth and potential revenue needs would benefit from such adjustment."



Tax reforms would help to check unemployment and the other factors in downtrend.

## Fatten Up Those Pay Envelopes

HIGHER wages and increased consumption are essential if the nation's economy is to be salvaged and strengthened, the Conference on Economic Progress said last month.

The organization is a study group with representation from labor, business, agriculture and the academic world. Labor is represented by A. J. Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists; Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, and O. A. Knight, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

In a study entitled "Wages and the Public Interest," the conference urged better pay for wage-earners, increased consumption, larger public spending on defense and civilian programs, a new farm program and tax cuts at the lower end of the income scale.

The study was prepared under the direction of Leon H. Keyserling, who served as the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers when Harry Truman was President.

Stimulation of the economy so that the nation would be strengthened calls for a sharp change in economic thinking, the Conference on Economic Progress declared. Such a change is necessary, it added, if a "full economy" is to be part of our answer to the Soviet challenge, as it must be.

"We have been 'unable to afford' enough on any front only because we were weak on all fronts," the study said. "If wages and consumption were now lifted enough to activate our economy fully, employment and production would become high enough to support the expanded national security and other vital domestic programs \* \* \* to support farm restoration and larger business investment, and also to provide rising living standards for wage-earners and all consumers."

"The power of our economic system to do all of these things at once, in proper balance, is the great source of our potential superiority over the totalitarians."

"But if the growing deficiencies in wages and consumption and the in-

adequacies of the public programs even now being proposed officially force the recessionary economy still lower or prevent its full expansion, we shall find ourselves still less able 'to afford' what we need most."

The report declared that national policies "smothered the growth elements" in the economy and "fanned" the inflationary elements they were intended to retard. As a result, it maintained, the economy's rate of growth "slowed down to a creep and now [has] come practically to a halt."

"Nonsense" was the word applied to the beliefs that wage rates and prices must usually advance at the same rate and that stable prices depend on stable wages. The notion that higher prices, when they have followed wage increases, were due to the pay boosts, said the report, is "generally not true."

"Wage-earners have been put in an unfair public relations box," the conference pointed out in its study. "If they do not get adequate wage increases, the whole economy suffers. If they do get adequate wage increases, they are sometimes used as a pretext for immediate and unjustified price increases—and again the whole economy suffers."

## Living Costs Stay at Peak

THE cost of living remained unchanged in December from the record high figure of the month before, the government announced.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics consumer price index remained stationary at 121.6 per cent of the 1947-49 average. This was 3.1 per cent higher than the figure for December, 1956.

Hersey E. Riley, BLS living costs chief, said the index would probably have climbed had it not been for bigger discounts given by dealers on 1958 cars. New car prices were off 2.3 per cent and prices for used cars were down 1.4 per cent. Gasoline and tire prices also were down.

Despite the increased discounts, new car prices averaged two per cent more than in December, 1956. New

The study presented charts and statistics to show that real wages have "lagged seriously" behind the real volume of investment in the means of production. The "huge" return on investment after taxes was cited as an important part of the proof of unwarranted price inflation relative to business costs.

The price inflation which began early in 1956, the report said, was due mainly to "the ability of high selective 'price administrators' to lift their prices in order to reach for high or excessive returns despite a slack economy" and the inadequacy of economic growth.

The report added:

"This malpractice has by now aggravated the unfavorable economic trends it sought to escape from."

Full employment is not inflationary and wages have not been too high from the viewpoint of productivity, the report said. Indeed, it went on, "most of our economic troubles \* \* \* have been due largely to the lag in wages behind requirements for full prosperity," which it estimated at \$45.5 billion during the five-year period from 1953 to 1957, or about \$1300 a year for the country's average multiple-person family.

models were later that year and discounting also was later.

December was the second recent month in which the consumer had a breathing spell from the almost steady rise in living costs which began in the spring of 1956. The October figure likewise had been unchanged from the month before. Before that there had been thirteen months of rises to new record levels.

Between November and December food prices increased slightly. Meats particularly showed a rise.

While the highest prices in history persisted, unemployment was spreading. Jobless workers receiving unemployment compensation in the week ended January 4 increased to 2,770,317, a rise of 145,544 in one week.



# These Are the Hard Facts

TEXT OF A RADIO ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY

**T**HE AMERICAN PEOPLE are facing the most crucial year in the history of our country. What we do or fail to do in 1958, here at home and in our relations with the other nations of the world, will probably affect the lives of our people for generations to come. In fact, it could well affect our very future as a nation.

Never before in our history have we faced a more potent threat to our free way of life. It would be well, under these circumstances, for all the people of America to take a good look at our present situation and face up to all the facts, whether these facts are pleasant or unpleasant.

Let's take a look. Here is Hard Fact No. 1: There can be no doubt of the overall, long-range objective of the Soviet Union which stands as a menace to the future of our country. The objective of the Soviet Union, as the fountainhead of international communism, has been stated many times in the last forty years. This objective, stated very simply, is the destruction of all other social, economic and political systems which prevail today and complete domination over the entire world by Soviet communism.

If there be any who doubt this—despite the repeated statements by Soviet leaders over the years—let us take a look at Soviet actions, especially since the close of World War II.

The Soviet Union, under the domination of the ruling Communist clique, has, since World War II, destroyed the freedom and independence of more than 700,000,000 people who now exist in virtual slavery in countries that are now so-called "peoples' democracies." This conquest and enslavement have been brought about by various means—subversion, infiltration, military threats and direct as well as indirect aggression.

No amount of Soviet propaganda—no constantly repeated statement of their desire to coexist in peace with the rest of the world—can eliminate this hard fact.

Let us look at Hard Fact No. 2. The Soviet Union is today militarily as strong, if not stronger, than the United States of America. Moreover and more important, recent demonstrations of Soviet military might and technological progress leave no doubt whatsoever of the eventual complete military superiority of the Soviet Union over the United States of America—unless we immediately step up the pace of our defense preparations.

Hard Fact No. 3: It is quite obvious that the American economic situation, as of the present moment, is on the downgrade. With about 3,500,000 unemployed and

every possible indicator showing that this number will increase quite sharply in the next few months, there can be no doubt as to the direction in which we are heading.

This could very well lead to a situation for which the Kremlin has been hoping and expecting—the collapse of the United States domestic economy—which could give the Soviet Union a victory over us without firing a shot.

Hard Fact No. 4: In our present relations with the rest of the free world, and especially with our NATO allies, it must be quite obvious to all that our allies at the present time have greater fear of the destructive power of the Soviet Union than confidence in the ability of America to provide them with the necessary strength to deter and resist Soviet subversion and aggression.

In the face of these hard facts, we now see one of the periodic Soviet peace offensives in operation—calling on the world to outlaw war by solemn treaties, preaching the doctrine of so-called "peaceful coexistence," suggesting another summit conference to end what they call international tension.

Already we hear voices in America and in other parts of the free world raised in favor of another meeting with the Soviets, again testing their sincerity at the conference table. This, of course, is the normal reaction perhaps to the fact that, in the minds of all decent-thinking people, war today is unthinkable. With the tremendous destructive power now in the hands of the Soviet dictatorship as well as the nations of the free world, any global war would add up to virtual suicide for mankind.

However, in analyzing the possibility of finding a way to peace by conference and negotiations, we must remember that, though it takes only one side to start a war, it takes agreement and good faith on both sides to end the cold war and relieve international tension.

Of course, we could momentarily reduce international tension by appeasement. We could buy a temporary period of peace, no doubt, by submitting to Soviet terms for the elimination of international tension. But this would be suicide for the American people. This would mean the abandonment of all our traditions and all our standards of decency and ethics which we have built into what we call our American way of life.

In looking at the Soviet proposals for so-called peaceful coexistence and the ending of the cold war by agreement, it is well for us to look at the record; to see just what there is in the record which could justify free America, with all that it has at stake, to accept commit-



ments given at a conference table without some prior action by the Soviets that could be taken as a sign of good faith.

**Let's take a look** at the so-called noble principle of peaceful coexistence. No one can quarrel with the idea of peaceful coexistence. As an ideal or as a principle, peaceful coexistence between countries with different national traditions, even with different social systems, could be summed up in the old-fashioned phrase "live and let live." But what do the Soviets mean when they purpose the idea of "peaceful coexistence"?

Actually, the Communist strategy of so-called peaceful coexistence has been applied for forty years by the Soviet dictatorship—regardless of who happened to be the top man in the Kremlin. The contrast between Soviet word and deed, between promise and performance has been sharpest in the application of this so-called theory of peaceful coexistence between Communist countries and those which are not under Communist domination.

It is clear from the record that the Communist theory of peaceful coexistence is not a theory or a program for genuine peace, but merely an instrument to be used as part of the general, overall Communist strategy of cold war and aggression.

The founders of communism in Russia and their successors in power have continuously and consistently considered the Soviet Union as the base for world revolution. From this base, the idea was to spread Communist dictatorship throughout the world—this to be done regardless of the material destruction entailed in the process or the cost in human suffering.

Very early in the history of the Soviet Communist dictatorship, the dictators realized that their world revolution would not come as fast as they had dreamed and hoped. They therefore sought not to build for lasting peace between different social systems, but merely to gain time in which to develop enough strength for complete world conquest.

It is for this reason that the Soviet dictatorship always used its "peaceful coexistence" strategy as a cover from behind which it could pose as a proponent of peace while pursuing its ideal of world domination.

Back in 1920, Lenin, the Soviet dictator at that time, stated that he was for "peaceful coexistence with the peoples, with the workers and peasants of all nations who are awakening to a new life." However, in the same year Lenin stated to a conference of Communist party secretaries in Moscow:

"As long as we have not conquered the whole world, as long as we are weaker than the capitalist world from the economic and military standpoint, we must adhere to the rule that we must know how to take advantage of the antagonisms and contradictions existing among the imperialists.

"Had we not adhered to this rule, every one of us would have long ago been hanging from an aspen tree. \* \* \*

"As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot

live in peace. In the end, one or the other will triumph—a funeral dirge will be sung over the Soviet republic or over world capitalism."

This was and continues to be the Leninist theory and practice of "coexistence."

Last year Mr. Khrushchev, the present boss of the Communist dictatorship, said on this subject:

"All of us live on one globe, and there is no other place we can go to. \* \* \* A situation has developed in which two systems exist simultaneously in the world. \* \* \* We consider that communism is invincible and that the future belongs to the Communist system. \* \* \* As to how long this coexistence can last, this will depend on historical conditions and developments."

It is clear that the Communist idea of coexistence between the Communist countries and the non-Communist world is that it is a temporary state of affairs which should be cultivated and developed for use only as long as the Communists lack the strength to conquer the world by threats, subversion or aggression.

**The history** of the Soviet Union shows that the Communist dictatorship seeks cooperation with the non-Communist nations only when it can use such cooperation for the purpose of advancing its No. 1 goal of world domination. This is the underlying motive back of every agreement and treaty which has ever been made by the Soviet Union in the last forty years with any other nation.

For instance, this was the motive 'way back in June of 1921 when Soviet troops moved into Outer Mongolia with the assurance to the government of China that this was only a "temporary" move necessitated by the needs of Soviet security.

In 1936, Mao Tse-Tung, now the Communist dictator of the Chinese mainland, declared:

"When the people's revolution has been victorious in China, the Outer Mongolian Republic will automatically become a part of the Chinese Federation at its own will."

Despite Soviet assurances and Mao Tse-Tung pledges, Outer Mongolia is still part of the Soviet Empire.

In practically every country that has been annexed by the Soviet Union, the record will show that Moscow had an agreement calling for peaceful coexistence with that country. The record indicates, without question, that any agreement by Moscow with a country that is militarily and economically weaker than the Soviet Union is completely worthless.

We have a very recent demonstration of what the Soviet Union really means by "peaceful coexistence." This we find in the tragic events which took place in Hungary a little more than a year ago.

In this case the Hungarian people merely desired for their country to be free and self-governing and to live at peace with its neighbors. No one by any stretch of the imagination could contend that Hungary represented a threat—economically, militarily or in any other way—to the security and welfare of the Soviet Union. What

Hungary wanted was to coexist peacefully with all of her neighbors, including the Soviet Union. And we all know what happened to the Hungarian people.

The entire world can well hang its head in sorrow and shame over the murder of thousands of Hungarians, over the exile of tens of thousands more—brought about by Soviet military might ruthlessly applied to a defenseless people.

To those who think in terms of accepting as valid the present Soviet statements of their desire to coexist peacefully with the free world, I say: Take a good long look at Hungary.

Incidentally, Moscow has never permitted the United Nations report on Hungary to be distributed in the Soviet Union. In addition to this, when the United Nations designated the highly respected Prince Wan of Thailand to visit the Soviet Union and Hungary as a special United Nations representative in an effort to help the Hungarian people who are facing further Communist oppression, the Soviet Union absolutely refused to recognize him and barred him from entering either the Soviet Union or Hungary.

**Now let us take a look** at the proposal for a top-level summit conference for the purpose of arriving at an agreement between the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union renouncing war.

Certainly we cannot have forgotten that we had a summit conference just two and a half years ago, in July, 1955, at Geneva, Switzerland, where everything was pleasant and sweet, where everybody smiled on everybody else and where an agreement in principle was reached to relieve some of the international tensions. Then, a few months later, in November, the foreign ministers of the conferees met in Geneva. Were there smiles and was the agreement put into effect? Oh, no! The Soviets completely repudiated every promise that had been made in July of the same year.

What is obviously the purpose of a summit conference from the Soviet point of view? It is all part of the Soviet propaganda campaign to raise false hopes in the free world, to encourage the people of the free world to think that agreement is possible and to lull them into a sense of false security and to freeze the present Soviet military advantages so that the Soviet Union can continue its efforts to bring about world domination through subversion, aggression and any other method that it can devise.

Mr. Khrushchev, in his statement of December 21 before the Supreme Soviet, tells us that he is sure that all of the people of the world want peace. And, of course, we agree. The people of America want peace, and I am sure the people of the Soviet Union want peace. But the question really is: Do the rulers in the Kremlin want peace?

Khrushchev suggested that the way to peace is to "let the people decide." For some time past the AFL-CIO, along with others, has been suggesting that the question of unification of East and West Germany should

be decided by having the people of these two areas vote in a free plebiscite under United Nations supervision as to how they would be governed—whether they wanted to be divided or whether they wanted to be unified in one nation. There has been no acceptance or even a hint of acceptance by the Soviet Union of any such proposal.

The fact that the people of the Soviet Union want peace is not decisive at this time. Under the monolithic structure of government which exists in the Soviet Union and its satellites today, there can be no real move for peace unless and until Mr. Khrushchev, who sits at the top in supreme control, decides that he is ready for peace.

Further, it would be quite proper to ask at this time: Is Mr. Khrushchev now ready for free elections on the question of a unified Germany? As I see it, another summit conference without prior action on the part of the Soviet Union as an indication of good faith would only be used for more propaganda by the Soviet Union in the war of nerves against the free world.

Incidentally, one of the terms under which the Soviet Union would be willing to talk peace, as stated by Mr. Khrushchev in his address of December 21, is that all nations must accept the *status quo*. What does this mean?

It means that the captive peoples of Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia and all the other East European nations must be condemned to their present slavery. This means that our country and the other nations of the free world must agree in advance to accept the present status of these captive people and further agree to their permanent imprisonment behind the Iron Curtain.

Of course, acceptance of the *status quo* would have its advantages for the Soviet Union. It would undoubtedly stifle whatever hope is still alive in the breasts of the captive peoples and would perhaps compel them, having lost all hope, to end their resistance to cruel Soviet oppression. This could mean that the Soviets would no longer have to face situations such as they had to face in East Germany in 1953 and in Poland and Hungary in 1956, where the captive peoples rose up against their oppressors.

The acceptance of the *status quo* would mean a permanently divided Germany. It would mean approval of the actions of the Soviet Union against all of its captured people. And it would mean the abandonment by the free world of every decent, moral principle to which civilized man has adhered during the last 2,000 years.

We hear talk now for a non-aggression pact between the democratic powers and Moscow. Who is there in the United States, or in any other country, who can point to anything in the record of the Soviet Union the past forty years that could be taken as an indication that the Soviet Union would honor its obligations and commitments under such a non-aggression pact or under any treaty made now—solemn or otherwise?

Could there be any solemn treaty written which

would contain commitments to a peaceful world that would go beyond the commitments that are present in and binding on all nations, including the Soviet Union, which have subscribed to the Charter of the United Nations?

Let us look back a little bit. In 1939 Adolf Hitler marched on Poland, after he had signed a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union. Within a few hours, despite the fact that a similar treaty of friendship existed between Poland and the Soviet Union, the Communists marched on Poland in order to get their share of the loot. A few days later Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov boasted:

"One swift blow to Poland, first by the German Army and then by the Red Army, and nothing remained of this ugly offspring of the Versailles Treaty."

This is what happened to Poland, with which the Soviets had a treaty barring war and aggression.

At Yalta the Soviets pledged that they would grant the right of free elections to all of the peoples of the Eastern European countries which are now behind the Iron Curtain. At Potsdam the Soviet Union pledged free elections for the German people seeking national unity and freedom. In practically every country which the Soviets have taken by force, since World War II, they did so in the face of a treaty of friendship with that country.

**What American** in his right mind, in the face of the Soviet record, could place the future of America and the entire free world in a position where our very existence would depend on Soviet good faith in carrying out the obligations of a treaty renouncing war? Can we base the welfare and security of our children and of everything which we hold dear—in the light of our traditional belief in democracy and freedom—on an acceptance of the Soviet spoken or written word without actions or deeds to back up these words?

The answer to these questions is obvious.

What then are the requirements for our people to maintain their freedom?

What should be our course?

Naturally we cannot close the door to negotiations with the Soviet Union on the vital questions of peace or lessening tension and of disarmament. Knowing full well the destructive power of hydrogen and nuclear weapons and the rapid progress being made in missiles designed to deliver these weapons to wide areas of the earth, it is highly necessary that the door be left open for negotiation and discussion—even though the prospects for the settlement of these issues by negotiation are very dim at the present time.

Negotiations should be conducted—but not initially through a summit conference, nor by any method which would provide propaganda for the Soviet Union in the cold war. Conferences and negotiations should be conducted through regular diplomatic channels and through the United Nations, where practically all the nations of the world hold membership and where negotiations can

proceed within the framework of a Charter which is dedicated to the freedom of mankind.

**In facing** the immediate future, America's No. 1 job is to strengthen this nation of ours, which is the leading power among the nations of the free world. America must become stronger militarily, economically, socially and in every other way.

Everything we do as a nation in the next few years must be related to this overall problem of developing the strength of our nation so that we can deter and, if need be, turn back aggression. Indeed, even the question of allies is in large measure a question of how strong is the United States of America. It is quite obvious that our European friends who are directly under the shadow of the cruel and inhuman dictatorship of Moscow must be encouraged and must be helped if we are to maintain a firm front on the part of the free world.

Every peaceful and freedom-loving nation wants to see the balance of military powers again swing in favor of our country. Liberty-loving people everywhere want to see America regain world military primacy. They know America has no design on anyone else's territory. They know America has no intention to destroy the national independence or democratic rights of any people.

But just as modern wars cannot be prevented or won by military means alone, so our country cannot preserve world peace and freedom by military measures alone. Simultaneously with rebuilding our nation's military strength to a level adequate for deterring and turning back aggression, our country should also—

▶Through public and private measures bolster the nation's economy so as to halt the downward trend and restore American prosperity on a firmer basis and raise it to higher levels than ever before. Such a reversal of the current economic trend would improve the morale of our own people, encourage and enhance confidence by the free world in our country and deal a hard blow to the Kremlin rulers prophesying and plotting our nation's economic collapse.

▶Our country's educational system should be modernized, with greater emphasis placed on scientific training and enlargement of opportunity for the highest education without regard to color, creed or economic resources of the individual student.

▶Cooperation with and aid to our allies should be expanded in order to pool and unify the economic, political, scientific and technological resources and strength for preserving peace and promoting freedom.

▶American aid to the economically underdeveloped countries should be expanded with a view to improving the conditions of their people and helping them build sound modern economies of their own.

▶Our government should make the most vigorous and persistent efforts to have our allies set target dates for the development of full self-government, democracy and national independence for the peoples of their colonial



possessions. This is a program which cannot be carried out at one stroke. It will take time and much effort. But once the American people realize the gravity of the crisis confronting them, their capacity, their resources and their determination to meet the situation will spell success.

The very survival of our country demands that at this critical hour our people should not be diverted from these most urgent tasks.

Cries for a balanced budget mean nothing in the face of the grave Soviet threat to the very existence of our country as a free nation. Of what avail is an arbitrary national debt ceiling when our national edifice is threat-

ened by Soviet imperialist firebrands? Lowered taxes would be meaningless, once our national freedom were lost.

When the very life of our country is at stake, there is neither room nor time for seeking partisan political advantages or for permitting narrow group interests to determine our nation's policies.

I have placed before you the hard facts of the world situation.

I am confident that American labor, together with every other sector of the community, will face up to these hard facts and meet even the sternest test our nation and the free world will face in the days ahead.



Our oldsters should not be forced to become wards of charity when illness strikes.

## Decent Hospital Care for America's Older People Would Make Sense

By WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER

THE working people of our country think of the Social Security Act as a living document that must be constantly improved to meet the changing facts of the American economy. The law that was good twenty years ago is not good enough today. Times have changed. Needs have changed. And, as everyone knows, prices have changed, too, but only in one direction—upward.

The trade union movement is now engaged in a strenuous legislative battle on Capitol Hill. It is a battle which began the moment the gavel came down to open the second session of the Eighty-fifth Congress. It is a struggle which will go on until we are victorious.

There is a bill now before Congress which is designed to improve the Social Security Act. The measure to which I refer is the Forand bill. It was introduced by one of our most conscientious lawmakers, Congressman Forand of Rhode Island.

The Forand bill would create a

1958-model Social Security Act. It is a measure which will have wide support from all who love their neighbor.

Congressman Forand's proposal is conceived in the conviction that laws must change as circumstances change. It is based on the belief that America's senior citizens deserve understanding of their problems; that a nation which has the know-how to split the atom can solve the problems of America's older workers. Most of all, this measure is predicated upon the firm belief that social insurance, not charity, is the way to solve their problem.

I call attention to just one aspect of this bill—a provision under which hospitalization insurance would be provided for the men and women who draw old-age benefits. Today most insurance companies withdraw hospitalization protection when a person reaches the age of 65.

What happens to the man or woman or the husband and wife who plan on spending their senior years in dignity

and in rest, and who are suddenly victimized by catastrophic illness? Anyone who has had to meet a major hospital bill or a surgeon's bill knows how quickly one's resources diminish.

It is bad enough when that weekly paycheck is coming in. It is tragic when one's only income is a social security check.

The AFL-CIO thinks it is perfectly reasonable, perfectly American, perfectly fair to provide hospital protection for our older folks if they are unfortunate enough to become seriously ill. We think this kind of proposal makes sense. However, the medical lobby cries "socialized medicine" whenever anyone suggests something concrete and constructive to aid Americans who are the victims of illness.

People receiving old-age benefits under the Social Security Act must not be forced to become wards of charity. We must give them decent hospital care. The Forand bill would provide a decent and fair way to do it.

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# ORIT Is Pointing the Way

By **LUIS ALBERTO MONGE**  
*General Secretary of ORIT*

**ORIT and what it stands for** are today widely known in Latin America and in the non-autonomous territories of the Western Hemisphere. ORIT is not so well known in the United States and Canada, although more than 16,000,000 of the total 25,000,000 ORIT members are from these two countries.

When trade union leaders from Latin America travel to the United States and Canada and make contact with their colleagues there, one of the things that most surprise them is that they frequently find this lack of knowledge about what ORIT is and what it does.

This should be corrected through all the information media of the trade union movements of the United States and Canada. If the activities in ORIT's behalf of U.S. and Canadian union leaders are to receive sufficient rank-and-file support and understanding, the principles and activities of ORIT must become better known to the membership.

For this reason I am happy to have this opportunity to explain what ORIT is and what its principles and most important activities are.

The development of relations between the North American and Latin American labor movements is not of recent origin. Back in the era of Samuel Gompers there were very concrete manifestations of such connections. With the help of various Latin American leaders, Gompers was able to establish the Pan-American Federation of Labor in 1918.

This organization had an intermittent life and virtually disappeared in 1930, but it represented a praiseworthy attempt at an early date to unite the efforts for progress among the workers of the Western Hemisphere.

In 1936 the most representative labor organizations of Latin America met in Mexico and established the Latin American Confederation of Workers (*Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina*). Subse-



**LUIS ALBERTO MONGE**

quently the CTAL fell into the hands of the Communists and was converted into an instrument of Moscow.

Disillusioned, a number of organizations, together with others which had remained independent of CTAL, including the American Federation of Labor, the Railway Labor Executives Association and the International Association of Machinists (then independent) held a congress in Lima, Peru, in January of 1948 and formed the CIT, or the Inter-American Confederation of Workers (*Confederación Interamericana de Trabajadores*). The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada subsequently joined. In this organization the structure was inter-American instead of purely Latin American.

Inspired by ideological principles similar to those which had originated the Lima meeting, the most representative democratic labor organizations of the world met in London in December of 1949 and founded the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

The Inter-American Confederation of Workers decided to join the ICFTU. A congress held in Mexico City in January of 1951 founded the Inter-American Regional Organiza-

tion of Workers (*Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores—ORIT*) as the Western Hemisphere branch of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

ORIT came into being as a result of the affiliation of CIT's member organizations and other important union groups, such as the CIO, the Canadian Congress of Labor and the Mexican Confederation of Workers (CTM).

ORIT has just passed its seventh year of existence—years that have not gone by in vain. Its work has left a deep impression in the struggle for the rights of working people, in the promotion and strengthening of democratic institutions and in the task of bringing together all the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Through ORIT's efforts, new labor organizations have grown up and existing ones have been strengthened. Through constant preaching, the principles of free trade unionism have been brought to millions of workers in the Western Hemisphere.

The promotion of economic and social reforms adapted to the needs and possibilities of each country has been a task carried out without faltering.

It cannot be said that the conditions of all the workers in the Western Hemisphere, and especially those of Latin America, are good. There are still many battles to be fought. But ORIT has been firmly pointing the way that leads to betterment.

The hard-hitting campaign that ORIT has carried on during these seven years against all totalitarianism has no precedent in the history of the international trade union movement. Action has been implacable against communism, against Perónism and against the other dictatorships established in Latin America. ORIT has opposed totalitarianism of every kind.

Without minimizing the work of the statesmen, it can be said that ORIT has done more than any other institution to bring together the peoples of the Western Hemisphere and

to establish solid bases of cooperation.

If some day governments decide to develop a policy tending toward true understanding and valid cooperation, they will inevitably have to envisage the principles and work done by ORIT toward that end.

Latin American resentment toward the United States is not a creation of the Communists but rather the result of misguided, erroneous policies and of abusive activities of certain private investors in Latin America, etc. The Communists have only made use of this resentment.

**T**HIS has made ORIT's task more difficult. On the one hand, ORIT must denounce the insincerity of the Communists in their demagogical poses of pretended defense of Latin America's interests. On the other hand, ORIT must press to bring about the rectification of misguided policies and a better deal from private United States capital invested in Latin America.

In order to advance toward the objectives of economic and social progress, toward the true enjoyment of democratic life and inter-American solidarity on a just basis, ORIT has had to perform miracles. Its financial resources are very limited. Many local unions in the United States have a larger budget than ORIT.

However, little by little, both North America and Latin America are becoming aware of the need for increasing the human and financial resources at the disposal of ORIT.

Good will and the pressure of the urgent needs of trade unionism in our countries have made up, in part, for the lack in resources. It has been possible to carry out important organizing work. More than a dozen national and five international seminars on labor education have been held.

Several hundred union leaders have taken and are taking courses through the Inter-American Trade Union Correspondence School. Hundreds of thousands of educational pamphlets on the general principles and activities of ORIT have been circulated in our countries, often reaching the Hemisphere's farthest corners. ORIT publishes and distributes several periodicals in Spanish, English and Portuguese.

In order to broaden its activities, ORIT has set up an office

in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, which undertakes the work in non-autonomous territories. An office has been established in Brazil for the work in that country, and there is an emergency office in Santiago, Chile, to work with our trade union friends in the serious problems confronting that country.

With a total membership of 25,000,000, ORIT now has in affiliation the most representative labor organizations of the Hemisphere. Democratic non-member groups maintain friendly relations with ORIT. Very few follow the Communist line.

This does not mean that the Communists are no longer dangerous or that ORIT has succeeded in solving the fundamental problems confronting the trade unions of the Western Hemisphere. On the contrary, 1958 will be a very hard and decisive year for our organization.

Conservative forces, which consciously or unconsciously try to deter economic and social progress in our countries, would seem to be becoming more and more reactionary.

## Company Sheets Cost Plenty

**E**MLOYERS spend colossal sums each year to propagandize their workers through management-published magazines and newspapers, a booklet just released by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce confirms. Called "Better Business Relations . . . Through Employee Publications," the booklet reports that the nation now has more than 8,000 company publications going to employees.

Some 300,000,000 copies are distributed across the land each month. To produce these publications, employers spend more than \$500,000,000 annually, the booklet reports.

Asserting that publications of this type have grown "tremendously," the Chamber urges companies which do not have management periodicals to enter the field without delay. These publications are useful for promoting "harmonious management-labor relations," the Chamber of Commerce booklet says.

Discussing the best way of operating such publications, the Chamber

The remaining Latin American dictators, after the defeats suffered by several of their colleagues in 1956 and 1957, may be expected to lash out even more fiercely against free and democratic trade unionism.

And in this year of tribulations for free unionism in the Western Hemisphere, it is probable that the Communists will launch a great anti-democratic offensive, seeking to take advantage of the deterioration of the economies of various countries and to exploit the harmful attitude of ultra-conservative groups. One may anticipate that the Communists will try to wring as much benefit as possible from the errors of Western international policy. And, of course, the Communists will be aided in their anti-democratic activities by the psychological effects of the Soviet earth satellites.

But we of free labor are not frightened. Nor do we feel pessimistic.

It seems to us that 1958 will be a hard year, but also one of substantial progress for labor in the Americas.

recommends that they be used, among other things, to keep up on what "the other side" says.

The company magazines and newspapers should be mailed to the homes of employees, so that the entire family will be reached, the Chamber emphasizes. Another pointer is that the management publications for working people should never be referred to as "house organs." That term sounds like a propaganda device, the booklet says.

Examples are given of the kinds of stories printed by management publications and the most effective ways of getting over management's views on so-called "right to work" laws, contract negotiations, profits, taxes, aid to education, public power and other important subjects.

According to the booklet, a properly edited management publication for employees does not leave it to the wage-earner to "interpret the facts" which are given him. Instead, it will "explain" the facts to the worker.

**ARE YOU REGISTERED?**

# Tennessee Unity Works Fine

By STANTON E. SMITH

*President, Tennessee State Labor Council*

TENNESSEE labor has moved forward with renewed determination to attack the unsolved problems of the past and to meet the new challenge of today since the AFL and the CIO merged in our state in April of 1956.

Like other Southern states, Tennessee has come late to industrial development. Quite naturally, the labor movement of the state has reflected this late development of industry.

Today Tennessee has more industrial workers than agricultural workers. Its days as a state primarily agricultural are over. The implications of this change are far-reaching. They present organized labor with an opportunity to make a constructive contribution to the sound upbuilding of the state's economy.

This opportunity is not without obstacles. There are many persons formerly engaged in agriculture who have not yet found employment in industry. We have a sizable out-migration, largely young people who have completed their education at the expense of the state but go elsewhere to obtain jobs of the kind their ambitions demand.

In a desperate effort to create jobs, many Tennessee towns and small cities are issuing bonds, constructing plants and offering special tax inducements to attract industry. Too many of these jobs are of the marginal kind.

The exploitation of labor which is characteristic of this kind of industry leads to unrest and resentment on the part of the workers. Unionization is the logical answer to their problems.

The reaction of the community, in its determination to hold on to the plant, is to "protect" the company. This takes many forms and is not a new story. What is noteworthy is the return of the court injunction in drastic form to hamper and destroy union organization.

Not waiting for the excuse of "vio-



STANTON E. SMITH

lence," the courts frequently place unreasonable restrictions on picketing. Two pickets are permitted for a plant with six gates. Strikers are ordered to stay 1,000 feet away from the plant, even though some lived closer than that. On some occasions there is complete banning of pickets.

When the frustration of the workers confronted with this kind of situation results in a physical reaction, the court uses citations for contempt, without trial by jury, as a ready weapon to accomplish the final destruction of the union.

A second development in the resistance of towns and small cities to the unionization of their plants is the passage of anti-labor ordinances. Exorbitant license fees are required of union organizers, and picketing is curbed along the lines of bills introduced by labor's opponents in a number of state legislatures last year.

These anti-labor devices, added to Tennessee's compulsory open shop law, have created a situation which calls for a reexamination of our methods and our program. In the

courts and in the Legislature, labor in Tennessee is being challenged as never before. To meet this challenge the united State Labor Council has adopted an expanded program through which we hope to increase the effectiveness of labor's traditional activities in the fields of legislation and political education.

We can go forward with this expanded program because merger has eliminated the duplication of effort which existed before. The merger agreement provided for a full-time legislative representative, a full-time director of political activities and the establishment of programs of education, public relations and assistance to locals having cases before state agencies.

The executive committee of the State Labor Council has the authority to employ persons to administer these activities under the general supervision of the president. One feature of the Council's structure which differs from the usual setup is that none of the Council officers is full-time as such. The executive committee has employed three officers—the president, the secretary and the treasurer—to administer the programs.

The secretary of the State Labor Council is Matthew Lynch. He is legislative representative and director of service activities. The treasurer, Charles M. Houk, is director of political activities in charge of the COPE program. The president is director of education and public relations.

Matt Lynch, a textile worker with legal training and many years of experience as legislative representative and executive secretary of the State CIO Council, is admirably qualified to function in the two fields in which he has primary responsibility. That we came through the 1957 session of the Tennessee Legislature with no additional anti-labor legislation is in large measure the result of



his skill, effectiveness and hard work.

Secretary Lynch's legal training makes his advice and help invaluable in matters involving workmen's compensation, unemployment compensation, prevailing wages and the thousand and one situations which arise in connection with labor's relations with the agencies of state government.

While 1958 will not be a legislative year in Tennessee, the working people realize that the foundation for the Legislature of 1959 is being laid in the COPE activities

currently under way throughout the state. These activities are under the direction of the state COPE director, Charlie Houk.

A steamfitter by trade, he served the State Federation of Labor as secretary-treasurer for nine years and devoted considerable time to legislative work. He also spent more than a year as area director for the old Labor's League for Political Education before returning to help work out the state merger. He became the treasurer and director of political activities of the new State Labor Council.

In 1956 Charlie Houk ran a very successful COPE pilot project in Knoxville in the legislative elections. This involved use of the full range of techniques for securing voter registration, disseminating information on candidates and getting out the vote. Experience gained in this situation is being used in establishing similar activities in all major cities of the state.

Tennessee is fortunate to have a man of Charlie Houk's devotion to labor's cause and his skill and experience to take the lead in establishing effective COPE organizations in the state.

The educational program begun in 1956 has reached into every corner of Tennessee. First was a series of six one-day area conferences designed to bring the local leadership of AFL and CIO unions together and to speed local mergers.

The area conferences were followed by eight two-day institutes, co-sponsored by the respective local central bodies, on "Economics and Politics." These meetings were intended to lay the foundation for sound legislative

and COPE programs. Their aim was to promote basic economic and political understanding.

All members of the State Labor Council's administrative staff played full parts in these institutes. We received outstanding aid from Dan Powell, area COPE director; AFL-

CIO regional director Paul Christopher and staff organizer N. H. Kurko. These were augmented by John Cosgrove, Stuart Brock and Hy Kornbluh of the national AFL-CIO Department of Education and

Hyman Bookbinder of the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation.

Additional educational activities of this and other kinds are in the making.

In the field of public relations the program currently consists of the following: A high school scholarship program, regular news bulletins to the 130 weekly papers published throughout rural Tennessee, a monthly newsletter sent to officers of local unions and service of various officers and representatives on a wide variety of boards and committees concerned with community affairs.

In order to give more effective direction to the whole field of community relations, a standing committee on community services has been appointed. A statewide conference on this subject is being planned with the idea of stimulating community service activity at the local level.

## New Action in Mill Closing

THE Textile Workers Union of America has moved a step closer to winning justice for 550 workers who lost their jobs at the Darlington Manufacturing Company in 1956 after they voted for a union.

Jerome D. Fenton, the general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, has directed a new complaint in the case charging Roger Milliken and the firm he heads, Deering, Milliken and Company, with direct responsibility for closing the South Carolina mill.

William Pollock, president of the international union, said Milliken and his firm should answer for "the injustice and the damages suffered by the

Programs are well under way in Memphis and Knoxville. We hope 1958 will see at least seven more cities with active community service committees.

The recent convention of the Tennessee State Labor Council approved establishment of a legal department. Increasing problems are being created by court actions and decisions involving basic legal principles. Many cases require appeals. The first step in setting up the new department was taken by the executive committee when it appointed Cecil Branstetter of Nashville as general counsel of the State Labor Council, effective November 1.

The creation of a more favorable climate for constructive legislation is the goal of the various programs which have been described briefly. The principal elements of such a climate are public opinion and a union membership which understands the issues.

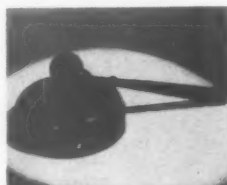
Our success will be measured by the kind of legislation passed by the General Assembly in 1959 and the years that follow. This is the task organized labor faces in Tennessee—and throughout the nation.

Those of us who live and work in states where the development of industry has come late face this task with no less determination than those in the more industrially advanced states. In Tennessee we are trying to sharpen the tools we have and create new ones to meet the demands of the big job at hand.

Darlington workers." The TWUA's head declared the action taken by General Counsel Fenton and a recent Labor Board decision to reopen the case bore out the union's contention that the Board's regional director at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was in error when he held that there was no connection between the Milliken chain and the Darlington mill.

Mr. Pollock asserted the Textile Workers were ready to show that Milliken and the chain "directly controlled the Darlington mill."

He said its closing was in accord with the general policy of Milliken and his company of "resisting unionism in all of their thirty-odd mills."





# The Rights and Responsibilities of Union Members

By **ARTHUR GOLDBERG**  
*AFL-CIO Special Counsel*

**T**HE rights and responsibilities of trade union members are a subject of widespread and genuine concern at the present time.

The vast majority of union officials endeavor honestly to safeguard the rights and forward the interests of their members and to discharge the duties of their office. Yet the reputations of the vast majority and of the labor movement are imperiled by the dishonest, corrupt and unethical practices of the few who betray their trust.

Union members who fail to exercise and practice their responsibilities as union citizens likewise bear a high degree of accountability for abridgement of their rights.

Most of the time—but not all of it, by any means—they *do* enjoy their rights as members of democratic unions. Most of the time—but, unfortunately, not enough of the time—they *do* exercise and practice their responsibilities as union members.

To make a detailed survey of the degree to which rights are being honored and responsibilities fully met would, I fear, be a career in itself. I doubt that a perfect score would be found in any trade union or, for that matter, in any human organization.

Nevertheless, many union organizations have conscientiously striven to provide constitutional safeguards for members' rights and have gone to considerable effort to instill among their members that sense of responsibility which is essential to a truly democratic organization.

There are other union organizations where this process seems—if I may be charitable—retarded.

The problem is one that faces many groups in our society—not only the labor movement. In greater or lesser degree, it is faced by churches, fraternal organizations, alumni clubs and, in a larger sense—in connection with the exercise of the franchise—by government itself.

Recently I read that a panel of personnel experts of the American Management Association was concerned that management might have been too successful in demoting individuality—that is, a sense of rights and responsibilities—in the ranks of industry.

Too much success along those lines leads to a form of “yes man” regimentation and a loss of the individual's willingness to speak up with his ideas or his doubts.

So labor is not in a boat by itself. Rather, because of the work of Congressional committees and the AFL-CIO itself, labor happens merely to be in a highly publicized boat.

Union citizenship bears strong resemblances to American citizenship, of which it is indeed a part. There are rights and duties; there are privileges and responsibilities.

In both the broad community of citizenship and in the more limited citizenship of the labor movement, there are bright spots and areas of deficiency. In both fields there are constitutions and laws, as well as the uncertain factor of human personality.

In neither government nor the labor movement do I know of any cure-alls that will bring perfection quickly.

I am fearful that the traditional

American alibi: “Let's pass a law,” by which we so often mean, “Let George do it,” will not bring a complete solution to our problem.

If there is no truly simple problem and certainly no simple solution, then let us look with humility at the problem and at some of the solutions that I can visualize. What are the rights of a union member *vis-a-vis* his union? I assume everyone interested in the subject has his own list. This is mine:

1. The right to a democratic union.
2. The right to due process of law in union disciplinary proceedings.
3. The right to a clean, honest union.
4. The right to an effective union.
5. The right to a union free from discrimination because of race, creed or color.
6. The right to a responsible union—responsible not only to its members and employers, but to the community and to the nation as well.

I think that the mere enumeration of these rights explains them. Some elaboration, however, is undoubtedly required.

## **The Right to a Democratic Union**

The entire labor movement in the United States and in all free countries in the world is based upon the democratic tradition. Freedom and democracy are the essential attributes of our labor movement. Labor organizations lacking these attributes, like Hitler's Labor Front, Franco's syndicates and Moscow's captive unions, are unions in name only.

Authoritarian control, whether from within the labor movement or

imposed from without by government, is contrary to the spirit, the tradition and the principles which should always guide and govern labor unions which call themselves free and democratic.

The overwhelming majority of American unions both preach and practice the principles of democracy. It is necessary, however, to recognize that the record of union democracy, like the record of our nation's democracy, is not perfect.

A few unions do not adequately provide for the basic elements of democratic practice. A few unions, while giving lip service to them, do not practice or implement these principles. In all too many instances the membership, by apathy and indifference, forfeit their rights of union citizenship.

Thus far I have commented generally about union democracy. Perhaps I should describe what I regard to be its basic element. It is defined in the AFL-CIO Code on Union Democratic Processes as the right of full and equal participation by each member in the affairs and processes of union self-government.

This includes the right (a) to vote periodically for his local and national officers either directly by referendum vote or through delegate bodies, (b) to honest elections, (c) to stand for and to hold office subject only to fair qualifications, uniformly imposed, and (d) to voice his views as to the method in which the union's affairs should be conducted.

The AFL-CIO in its Ethical Practices Codes dealing with union democracy correctly points out that, since each union has grown up in its own tradition and with its own background, forms and procedures for conducting union elections differ widely.

For example, many unions elect their national officers by vote of delegate bodies. Other unions do so by referendum vote. Whichever method is used, the important thing is that the election should be free, fair and honest and that adequate internal safeguards should be provided to insure the achievement of that objective.

While unions should be free to determine their own governmental structure and to regulate their own affairs, the AFL-CIO has enumerated additional safeguards designed to in-

sure union democracy and to safeguard the democratic character of the labor movement.

Thus, the AFL-CIO has called upon all of its affiliates to hold regular conventions at stated intervals, which should not be more than four years, to open all their general conventions to the public and to make available to the membership and to the public convention proceedings.

In addition, the AFL-CIO has called for periodic membership meetings of all local unions with proper notice of time and place; for limited terms of office for all union officials, not to exceed four years; for sparing exercise of the establishment of trusteeship over subordinate bodies; and for compliance by union officers and executive boards with the provisions of the union's constitution and decisions of the union's conventions.

I am aware that there is much discussion in this area of the need for legislation to effectuate these principles for insuring union democracy. I have more faith in the actions being taken by the AFL-CIO in this area.

Moreover, the real and lasting corrective is not so much the establishment of new principles as the exercise of rights presently recognized and accorded. Just as eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, so is the constant exercise of the rights of union citizenship the price of union democracy.

### The Right to Due Process of Law in Union Disciplinary Proceedings

The AFL-CIO code dealing with this subject reaffirms what every decent labor organization has always recognized—that each member of a union is entitled to the right of fair treatment in the application of union rules and law.

It seems to me that the general principles applicable to union disciplinary procedures can be simply stated, as they are in the code. Such procedures should contain all the elements of fair play. No particular formality is required. Court procedures need not be used and, in my opinion, should not be encouraged.

The essential requirements of due process, however—notice, hearing and judgment on the basis of the evidence—should always be observed. A method of appeal to a higher body should be provided to insure that

judgment at the local level is not the result of prejudice or bias.

Here again most unions provide for these basic elements of due process. A few do not. And the misdoings of these few have understandably created concern in the public mind.

Here, too, I would rest my faith with the actions being taken by the AFL-CIO to insure uniform compliance. Moreover, court decisions have increasingly protected the rights of individuals to union due process, and there is little that legislation could add.

### The Right to a Clean, Honest Union

Union members have the absolute right to expect and to exact *absolute honesty* in the conduct of their union affairs. They have a right to expect *more* honesty and ethics than may commonly be found in the marketplace.

Making quick profits may be part of the climate of the business community. It can never be tolerated as part of the concepts of the labor community. The trade union movement is a brotherhood to serve the general welfare of its members and the public. It is not a means for individuals to serve their own selfish purposes.

The AFL-CIO, by the adoption of its constitution, has clearly accepted the responsibility to protect the American labor movement "from any and all corrupt influences."

The codes adopted by the AFL-CIO to implement this constitutional provision set high standards for unions and union officials. Thus, conflicts of interest in the investment and business interests of union officials are prohibited. The standard used is virtually the same as that applied to public servants.

In the language of the code, "no responsible trade union official should have a personal financial interest which conflicts with the full performance of his fiduciary duties as a workers' representative."

This does not mean that an official of a union may not own a few shares of a publicly listed security. We in America are not that class-conscious. It does mean, however, that a union official should not have "a substantial business interest in any business enterprise with which his union bargains collectively or in any business enterprise which is in competition

with any other business enterprise with which his union bargains collectively."

In the handling of union and health and welfare funds, all unions and all union officials are enjoined by the AFL-CIO codes to administer such funds as a high trust for the benefit of the members and to adhere rigorously to the highest ethical standards. Strict record-keeping and audits are enjoined, dual salaries prohibited, adequate information to the membership required.

Here again the codes set an extremely high standard.

"With respect to accounting and financial controls and the expenditure of its funds for proprietary functions, the labor movement, it goes almost without saying, should follow the strictest rules applicable to all well-run institutions," the code declares.

"With respect to the policies governing its financial and proprietary decisions, a higher obligation rests upon the trade union movement: to conduct its affairs and to expend and invest its funds, not for profit, but for the benefit of its membership and the great purposes for which they have joined together in the fraternity of the labor movement."

The codes establish further and more self-evident requirements. Crooks and racketeers are barred from holding office in the labor movement. Here the test is not conviction but a practical one:

"Obviously a person commonly known to be a crook or racketeer should not enjoy immunity to prey upon the labor movement because he has somehow managed to escape conviction. In this area determinations must be made as a matter of common sense and with due regard to the rights of labor unions and the individuals involved."

Paper charters are prohibited. Affiliates are enjoined that a charter should never be used as a hunting license or granted to persons who are known to traffic in local union charters for illicit or improper purposes.

Kickbacks, under-the-table payments, gifts or personal payments from an employer or business enterprise with which the official's union bargains are condemned.

Finally, the entire labor movement is reminded by the codes that any departure from the most exacting ethical principles is harmful, not only

to the people directly affected, but to our whole society.

I believe that the adoption of these codes by the AFL-CIO constitutes a most significant step in protecting the rights of union members to clean unions. However, the mere adoption of these codes, standing alone, would not assure honesty and eliminate corruption.

The AFL-CIO has done far more than merely adopt high-sounding principles. Three international unions, including the largest one in the federation, having been found guilty of violating the labor movement's own standards of ethical practices, have been expelled.

The AFL-CIO, at the recent Atlantic City convention, taking action without fear or favor, and without regard to the size or strength of any of its affiliates, carried out the constitutional determination to keep the labor movement free from any taint of corruption.

Perhaps those who seek absolute perfection are not satisfied with what the American labor movement has done to keep its house clean. I would remind them that the constitution of the AFL-CIO and its Ethical Practices Codes are a good deal younger than the Ten Commandments, with which mankind for several thousand years has had major enforcement problems.

I trust that labor's friends will, therefore, be tolerant at least for a time—tolerant not of criminality, but of the efforts of unions to overcome it.

### **The Right to an Effective Union**

The primary function of labor unions—in a democracy pledged, as we are, to private enterprise—is collective bargaining. A good contract is the fundamental object of every union. Each member has a right to efficient and effective representation at the bargaining table.

He should also be able to expect that, when his union meets with the employer, it is armed with all the weapons and techniques of this important process. He has a right to expect that his officers know the facts, that professional and technical assistance is available to his officials, that legal, research, education and public relations techniques have been utilized as fully as possible.

In short, the union member has the

right to expect that his leaders and collective bargaining representatives will leave no stone unturned in getting him the best possible agreement on wages, working hours, working conditions and security.

In reviewing the record, I have found that far greater losses have resulted to the membership of unions by lack of expert help in the field of health and welfare funds than from corruption on the part of union officials.

In this connection, it is significant that one of the codes adopted by the AFL-CIO, in recognizing this, says:

"As a fundamental part of any approach to the problem of policing health and welfare funds, affiliated unions, through education, publicity and discussion programs, should seek to develop the widest possible degree of active and informed interest in all phases of these programs on the part of the membership at large. International unions should, wherever possible, have expert advice available for the negotiation, establishment and administration of health and welfare plans, and should provide training for union representatives in the techniques and standards of proper administration of welfare plans."

### **The Right to a Union Free From Discrimination**

An important right which the union member should have every reason to expect is full protection, in his union and by his union, of the basic civil rights of American democracy.

Discrimination against minorities is one of the great and unresolved problems of America, yet in the post-war years we have made heartening and almost astonishing progress to overcome this obstacle to our democratic society, with its concept of full human rights for every citizen.

It is a source of pride that so many unions have stood in the forefront of the fight for civil rights.

The constitution of the AFL-CIO recognizes the right of all workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, to share in the full benefits of trade unionism.

The day of the restrictive clause in union constitutions, fortunately, is close to twilight. Nevertheless, it would be unrealistic to think that, despite the progress which has been made and the standards that, for the most part, compare most favorably



with other community organizations, there is not room in many sections of the trade union movement for the strengthening of basic civil rights of every member.

### The Right to a Responsible Union

The union member has the right to expect that his union will be a responsible one—responsible to him as a member, responsible to employers under its collective bargaining agreements, but, more importantly, responsible to the community and to the nation at large.

With labor's growth and maturity, American unions have rapidly emerged from the status of a narrow pressure group into an area of broader interest in the general problems of the nation and the specific community. Labor leadership cannot afford to let a situation develop in which there is any difference in the mind of the public between desirable goals for the whole society and desirable goals for the labor movement.

It is unfortunate that a few labor leaders have not yet come to realize the public service character of the union and its functions. It is fortunate that the leadership of the AFL-CIO and most of its affiliates do.

It is for the best interests of unions and their members that they must now live in the goldfish bowl of national curiosity. The goldfish bowl is not a bad symbol for responsible organizations in the American democratic society.

To maintain the good will of fair-minded employers, of public officials and of the mass of plain citizens, labor will constantly have to reaffirm that it has nothing to hide and much to proclaim.

"What is good for America is good for labor" is an admirable and catchy slogan. But glib as it sounds, it voices a fundamental truth that our labor movement should not forget.

I HAVE thus far dealt with the *rights* of a trade union member, but these rights cannot be achieved by a union membership that does not exercise its *responsibilities*, a union membership that sits back, bored or smug, and challenges its officialdom to pull economic and ethical rabbits out of the union hat.

The *first* responsibility of the union member is to participate in the affairs of his union. When a union

member regards his union as a slot machine which may pay back a quarter for each nickel invested or as an insurance policy that can be obtained at little cost, then that union member is devaluating his union.

A certain recipe for corruption in the leadership is lethargy of the membership. As Monsignor George G. Higgins of the National Catholic Welfare Conference has pointed out, union members tend to get the sort of leadership they deserve, but since luck has been on their side, they have often gotten better leadership than their degree of participation would suggest they deserve.

To those who would blame all the faults of the labor movement on its leaders, let me point to the increasingly effective campaigns being conducted by many union leaderships to get the members to come in decent numbers to union meetings. After all, nobody "forces" the union member to stay home watching television.

The union member has a *second* responsibility—to help set the broad ethical standards under which his union operates. A union is composed of individual members who create a "public opinion" of their own. Like politicians, the union leader is sensitive to his public. And he responds quickly to the straws in the wind.

The individual union member has a responsibility to make sure that the public opinion which he helps to mold does not provide a climate in which tolerance for making a fast buck is a major factor. He has, indeed, a responsibility to let his leaders know that the union's members expect—more than that, *demand*—that they will be honest servants of the organization and its membership.

*Thirdly*, the membership has a responsibility to adhere to our American concept of respect for minorities.

Let us be frank. Too many union members joined White Citizens Councils in the South. Too many union members took part in the disgraceful anti-Negro riots at Trumbull Park in Chicago. Too many union members are not willing to accord to minorities the civil rights which they would want for themselves.

There is a responsibility on the part of union members to give full

support to our broad national program of civil rights and to insist that their unions keep in step with the fair-minded sections of our national population.

*Fourth*, there is a responsibility on the members to be good citizens and to recognize fully the role of their union as a responsible volunteer organization in the national society. This embraces the concept I have already mentioned, that what is good for America is good for its unions.

The union member has a responsibility to recognize that his union is not an island unto itself, but that it must, in the American way, work together with other sections of the community to make our country a better place in which to live and the world a better place for all mankind.

And, *finally*, the member has the responsibility to be loyal to his union.

The right of an individual member to criticize the policies and personalities of his union officers—and he has this unquestioned right—does not, in the language of the AFL-CIO code, "include the right to undermine the union as an institution."

That means that each union member should support wholeheartedly and intelligently the union's collective bargaining goals arrived at by democratic processes.

It means that he must be ready to support the services which the modern union requires in order that it can represent the member effectively at the collective bargaining table.

It means that the union member has a responsibility to make the most of the democratic process within his own organization.

It means that the duty of policing and enforcing ethical standards is shared by every union member as well as by his officials.

It means recognition that the best safeguards against abuses of union rights lie in the hands of a vigilant, informed and active membership.

These are difficult days for labor in America. The enemies of labor will seek to use the present situation substantially to weaken it. The friends of labor will be called upon to safeguard labor from unwarranted restrictions and to support labor's own program to correct abuses.

The public should remember that a democratic and strong labor movement is a bulwark to our free way of life.

## REGISTER



## UNION AT KOHLER'S PRESSES ITS

# Fight Against Feudalism

By ALLAN GRASKAMP

*President, Local 833, United Auto Workers*

"THE wages and working conditions of every worker in America are being challenged in Sheboygan."

This is the way Walter P. Reuther, president of the Auto Workers, has characterized the nearly four-year-old strike by Local 833 against the Kohler plumbing fixtures company.

The forty-five-month strike in Wisconsin, one of the most hotly disputed industrial controversies in recent history, involves a relatively young local union and a company which has been described as "the last outpost of industrial feudalism in the United States."

The Kohler strike has become a symbol of the struggle between the labor movement and industrial reaction. Herbert V. Kohler, president of the firm, has also become in four years the darling of the extremist, labor-hating fringe in America. As such he has appeared before many manufacturers' associations and chambers of commerce, as well as before curbstone hate groups throughout the country. In all his speeches he has chanted about the "evils" of trade unionism.

To Kohler workers and citizens of Sheboygan, however, the strike is more than a symbol. It's a bread-and-butter dispute between 2,000 of the area's working people who are seeking fair wages and decent working conditions and an arrogant, ferociously anti-union company.

It came as no surprise to the community when the company initiated an organized hate campaign against the workers and their union. Since the strike began, the people of Sheboygan County have been lashed with the company's vitriolic fury as the bathtub baron found his virtually absolute authority effectively challenged by a united front of workers.

The resulting bitterness has almost



ALLAN GRASKAMP

torn apart the social fabric of the community as everyone in the area has taken a position on one side or the other.

Although the community had twice seen the Kohler Company break strikes and smash local unions, the intensity of the company's campaign to break Local 833 has astounded even old-timers in the area.

Prior to the plant's organization by the United Auto Workers in 1952, the company had twice broken unions. In 1897 Kohler broke a strike by the Molders Union. In 1934 the anti-union company smashed a walkout by members of a federal labor union.

The 1934 dispute saw company guards open fire on a peaceful picket-line demonstration. Two strikers were killed and forty-seven men, women and children were wounded in the fire from the plant.

Father J. W. McGuire, a noted clergyman and labor mediator in the area, said at that time:

"I never saw such needless and ruthless killing by supporters of the law. When it is understood that most of the people were shot in the back last Friday, the ruthlessness is evi-

dent. You don't have to shoot people in the back when they are running away. I have examined a score of persons and all except two were shot in the back."

For many years before and after the 1934 butchery, Kohler workers and residents of the community lived under the not so kindly hand of Kohler paternalism, a version brought to Wisconsin by the Kohler family nearly 100 years ago.

As Richard Wallace, writing in a national magazine, has pointed out:

"For many years the Kohlers, in running their family business, have been sedulous practitioners of old-fashioned paternalism or father-knows-bestism.

"When the grandfathers of Sheboygan came to America, they brought with them the memory of the landlord-peasant relationship they had known in Germany. They had rebelled against this relationship in its harshest forms, but they were not unwilling to accept it in a watered-down version. At the Kohler Company, they slipped into it easily, and a long time passed before they began to think there was anything uncomfortable or undignified about it."

IN THE forty-five months since the current strike began, the walkout by more than 2,000 workers has remained in full force. A nationwide primary boycott against Kohler products, which are now manufactured by strikebreakers, has been effective in reducing Kohler sales. The boycott is snowballing as more and more union members across the nation become aware of the issues in the dispute.

Public support of the Kohler strikers' cause is on the rise. One important reason for the growing sympathy with labor in this long struggle is the recent decision of an NLRB

## REGISTERED TO VOTE?

trial examiner who found the company guilty of scores of violations of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The examiner, George A. Downing, held the company had violated the law by flagrantly refusing to bargain in good faith, thus prolonging the strike from its earliest stage. The examiner's findings are now before the full NLRB.

The examiner's ruling, delivered following more than two years and 20,000 pages of testimony, was solid confirmation of the union's contention that Kohler had started and since repeatedly refused to settle the strike in its obsession to smash the local union.

**F**OR many months prior to the strike and in the years since, the company has persistently refused to engage in more than surface bargaining, participating in the bargaining sessions only to the extent of physical presence, but refusing to discuss seriously any of the union's proposals for betterment of wages and working conditions.

Despite the recommendations to the full NLRB by the trial examiner who found the company guilty, Kohler and Lyman Conger, his right bower, have continued to attack the union, its officers and members, using as their main argument the moth-eaten claim that the UAW seeks only "union power" in the dispute.

Kohler, Conger and anti-union legislators, notably Arizona's Senator Barry Goldwater, a wealthy department store operator, have continued to assert that a settlement has been prevented because of the UAW's insistence upon so-called "compulsory unionism." The truth, which is that the union shop demand was dropped more than two and one-half years ago, has not interfered with their oratorical efforts around the country.

Typically, Kohler has failed to mention the trial examiner's findings in speeches he has made about the strike since the report was issued.

A brief review of events since the strike began shows clearly that the union has compromised on virtually every major issue, while the company

has refused to compromise on any issue and has actually tightened its anti-labor demands over the months.

Repeated arbitration attempts by Local 833 and the international union, by President Reuther and Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, by Secretary of Labor Mitchell and a host of public-spirited clergymen, mediators and government officials (including Kohler's nephew, Walter, who at the time was Governor of Wisconsin) have been ignored or stonily rejected by the company.

Kohler's attitude on arbitration has been tersely summed up by the company's publication:

"The company has received many offers to arbitrate and hundreds of suggestions for settling the strike. Curiously, these would-be pacifiers have not seemed to understand there is nothing to arbitrate."

While a comment such as this might shock the labor relations directors of many decent employers, it was not uncharacteristic of Kohler's antediluvian thinking.

It has been amply demonstrated that Kohler just doesn't want to settle, whatever the cost to the company

itself, to the workers and to the Sheboygan community. Until the strike began on April 5, 1954, Herbert V. Kohler was indeed a potentate in the area. He obviously regards any legitimate trade union in the Kohler plant as a threat which must be destroyed at any cost.

Any secret desires that Kohler may have harbored about the possibilities of UAW surrender in the conflict have been proved wishful thinking, as the union has continued its campaign to persuade the firm to obey the law of the land and reach an honorable settlement.

Any alternative to an honorable agreement has been termed "unthinkable" by the UAW's leaders. As Mr. Reuther has pointed out recently:

"If Kohler of Kohler is permitted to smash the union in that plant, then the rights of industrial citizenship of all workers in the country—rights ostensibly guaranteed under the law—will be seriously jeopardized.

"The men and women of Local 833 are fighting for decent wages and a decent contract at Kohler. They will continue that struggle until they have achieved justice."

## Al Hayes Hits Job Bias

**T**HE nation is losing the effective use of 10 per cent of its labor force because of job discrimination against Negroes, the president of the International Association of Machinists told a conference in Washington a few days ago.

Speaking on labor's role in the fight against discrimination, Al J. Hayes described how some companies were exploiting organized labor's non-discrimination policy for their own advantage by stirring up racial prejudice.

The Machinists' head appeared at the Minority Community Resources Conference sponsored by the President's Committee on Government Contracts. The committee is an advisory group which seeks to put an end to discrimination in employment.

Although the Negro bears the heaviest burden of job discrimination, Mr. Hayes said, there are other minority groups which are also treated with "ignorance, misunderstanding or prejudice." Unfair and unwise treatment of Negro workers is not only a domestic problem, he pointed out, but

is "a matter of major concern to the billion or more people who are as yet uncommitted in the struggle between communism and democracy."

Mr. Hayes told the conference about labor's progress in eliminating bias. He said that segregated local unions are rapidly disappearing "in both the North and the South."

"This is true in the Machinists Union, and in practically all other unions," he reported. "As a result, white and Negro members are learning to work together on the everyday problems of local administrations."

Vice-President Richard M. Nixon told the conference that Soviet technological advances were an increasing challenge to government, labor and management to see that employment discrimination was abolished.

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell pointed out that, to keep up with the nation's growing needs, 10,000,000 more workers must be added to the labor force by 1965. Minorities which constitute a large segment of the working force are not being used as they should be, he said.

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# Are We COMMUNICATING?

By GORDON H. COLE  
Editor, The Machinist

**T**O READ the newspaper headlines these days, anyone might think that the average union member is the victim of a gigantic conspiracy between his union and his employer.

How can anyone know the truth about labor when lately virtually all the big headlines, virtually everything we read in the daily papers and hear over radio and television about trade unions is derogatory?

Few of us have any idea of the problems we face in trying to communicate with our own members, much less the public in this mid-Twentieth Century.

How many channels of communication are there in the United States? Here is a recent census: In this country there are 1,800 daily newspapers, 10,000 weekly newspapers, 7,600 magazines, 2,000 trade journals, 7,635 periodicals for race or nationality groups, 100,000,000 radios, 20,000,000 television sets, 15,000 motion picture theaters and 6,000 house organs.

How many of these channels of communication are controlled by or readily accessible to labor's enemies? The overwhelming majority. How many labor publications are there offering labor its own channel of communication? Possibly 400 printed publications at the most, plus about 5,000 bulletins and mimeographed newsletters. They are for the most part small, starving publications—ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed.

Yet if this business of communication is so important, how is it that organized labor has been able to build its unions to a membership of 17,000,000?

The newspapers, the magazines, the trade journals, the motion pictures, company house organs, radio and TV have never championed labor's cause. We have a labor movement today despite the media of mass communication—not because of them.

The truth is that the labor movement has succeeded not because of its public relations program or its in-



GORDON H. COLE

adequate labor press but in spite of it. The labor movement has grown because working people need unions to live decent, respectable lives.

Because the labor movement has grown without adequate communications doesn't mean that it can continue to grow or even survive without them. Times are changing. Certainly, something happened to labor's public relations between 1935 when Congress passed the Wagner Act and 1947, when labor couldn't even muster the necessary one-third vote to sustain Harry Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Somehow, enough people were confused enough about trade union activities to give labor's enemies in Congress the courage to vote for the Taft-Hartley Act.

Now, more than ten years later, the heat is on for still more restrictive legislation. The American people are being conditioned in many ways for more restrictions on legitimate union activities.

Not all the advances in science have been in the fields of electronics, astronautics and nuclear physics.

The dangers of nuclear power we can understand because they are widely reported. But there have been other scientific discoveries that may, if they are misused, be even more dangerous to the survival of the indi-

vidual—discoveries in the field of social sciences, psychiatry and anthropology. These discoveries, about which most union members know little or nothing, are now being put to work in advertising, in public relations and in employe relations.

No longer are we treated as rational human beings. No longer are we being approached with logical arguments that can be considered and refuted if they are not based on fact. Today, through the discoveries of the psychiatrists and social scientists, we are more and more being subjected to hidden persuaders, herded away from the desirable and legitimate goals of the individual.

Even the term "public relations" is dropping out of vogue with business. Today they talk about the engineering of consent—a "black art" as it was called by Judge Learned Hand.

This is an art of controlling by manipulating the instincts and emotions of the individual rather than by changing his reasoning. Instincts and emotions are triggered by symbols, by headlines. And right now they are building the symbol of the trade union officer as a crook and a gangster. Sure it's unreasonable to tar the entire labor movement for the sins of a few score. But they are trying to build an instinctive and emotional hostility toward organized labor.

**A**ND what are we doing to counteract this assault on the minds and the integrity of the American people?

Ten and twenty years ago there weren't as many union members. But proportionately more of them turned out to union meetings. And, I suspect, proportionately more union members understood the policies and the program of their union. Because they understood they were able to talk more convincingly about the union. Over the years it was the word-of-mouth communication, the personal testimonials of dedicated union members that built our unions.



Our problem today is to increase the proportion of our members who are not only willing but who are equipped with enough information to present the union program intelligently. We do this through pamphlets, films, radio, TV, magazines, newspapers and every other medium of mass communication.

There's a limit to what the labor movement can do in this field. The limitation is not talent but money.

**M**ODERN communication costs money, and money has to come from the members in the form of dues—and in this respect we are not doing what the old-timers did.

Half a century ago machinists, for example, were working for twenty to thirty cents an hour. They were paying \$1 a month dues, \$25 reinstatement fees and \$10 to \$25 initiation fees.

Today most union members are earning as much in an hour as the old-timers made in a day—a ten-hour day at that. Our members are at least ten times better off. If we want to continue to make the advances

during the second half of this century that we have made during the first half, union members had better start considering seriously a substantial increase in their dues, with a substantial portion of the increase going to communication.

Money, of course, will always be a problem in labor organizations. Yet there is money to spend on modern office equipment. There is money for expensive legal talent. There is money for real estate. There is usually money for the important activities of the labor movement.

There is also money for the labor press and for communication wherever and whenever the union officers in charge have come to the realization that the labor press and communication are something more than a necessary nuisance.

The labor press cannot be successful if so many union publishers continue to turn their backs on the new developments and new techniques of mass communication.

The fact is that we are losing the battle for the attention and reading time of our members to the commer-

cial newspapers, the slick magazine, to TV and to radio. The cost of neglected communication was already beginning to show up when Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act.

The cost is now mounting as distorted headlines stand unchallenged and unexplained.

What will the cost be over the next ten or twenty years? With the advances already made in mechanical and electronic equipment, in nuclear and solar energy, productivity is going to more than double. There's not going to be enough work to keep the growing work force occupied for twenty hours a week.

Without stronger, more effective unions, we're not going to develop enough purchasing power for enough Americans to maintain our prosperity and absorb all this productivity. Yet the members are not going to have more effective unions unless they're willing to provide the funds for mass communication.

We're up against the world's most powerful public address system. We better start turning up the volume on our own public communications.

**AFL-CIO is aware of the vital role of interesting and attractive publications. Here William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer, is handed a copy of a timely pamphlet by Pat Strieter of AFL-CIO Publications Department.**



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# NEW PROBLEMS COMING

By PETER HENLE

*Assistant Director of Research, AFL-CIO*

**E**WAN CLAGUE of the Bureau of Labor Statistics has drawn with clarity and insight at least the major outlines of the possible job picture in 1965. If the details do not stand out too clearly, the fault lies more with an elusive subject than with an unwilling artist.

What is the picture that has been drawn for us? Briefly, we can expect a 15 per cent increase in the nation's population and a similar increase in the nation's labor force. An additional 10,500,000 people are likely to be at work or seeking work by 1965.

Relatively few of these, however, will be adult men in the prime of life. Most of the increase will come either from the youngsters or from women 35 and over. These figures reflect the fall-off in the birth rate during the 1930s. In fact, the small number of these "depression babies" is responsible for the fact that in 1965 the number of men at work between the ages of 25 and 34 will actually be 700,000 below the 1955 figure.

The larger number of youngsters coming into the labor force will reflect the upturn in the birth rate in the 1940s. The increased number of women reflects the increasing inclination of women over 35 to seek employment once their children have reached school age. Both these groups may be more interested in part-time than full-time employment.

Clague has gone further to point out changes that are likely to take place among the industries and occupations at which people will be working. Most of these figures reflect trends that have become evident over the past few years.

The number of both blue-collar and white-collar jobs will continue to rise, but white-collar jobs are expected to rise at a faster rate. Among blue-collar workers, one trend of interest to unions is an increasing emphasis toward a higher level of skill.

Almost all broad industry groupings are expected to show an increase, but for transportation and public utilities the increase will be relatively

limited. For construction, finance and services, the rate of increase is expected to be above average, while for mining, government, trade and manufacturing, the rate of increase will be at or slightly below the average rate of growth.

With the manufacturing sector, it seems clear that sales, clerical, research, technical and other non-production jobs will continue their more rapid growth than the total of production jobs.

This outline of trends raises many questions.

During the next ten years American unions will find in the labor market a steadily increasing proportion of workers who have had little, if any, experience with unionism, who have not been exposed to the hardships around which unionism has traditionally been built and whose jobs will largely be those in which unions have generally not been accepted.

Because of these factors, unions are likely to encounter a far greater proportion of workers who are apathetic or even hostile to unionism.

**T**HE figures show that there will be an increasing proportion of youngsters and older women in the labor force. Who are these people and what is likely to be their attitude toward unions?

The youngsters were all born in relatively recent years. By 1965 more than half of the labor force will have been born after 1925. These people bear no scars of the 1930 depression.

Although their parents may have talked to them of hard times, this could have left but a vague impression, not any genuine awareness of the problem. Our generally high-employment economy has given them a rosy, some might even say a lackadaisical attitude toward life.

The young women, naturally enough, have a particularly high rate of job turnover as they leave the labor market after marriage or childbirth. As for the young men who have many interests beyond their

jobs, it would be surprising indeed if many of them took an active interest in their job conditions and therefore in their union.

Some might say that the very success which unions have achieved in raising job standards and employment conditions has meant that youngsters coming on the job do not respond to unions as warmly as their fathers.

**O**LDER women will form a continuing larger proportion of the work force. Some of these, widowed or divorced, often with children to support, face the same or even more difficult job conditions than their male counterparts.

However, the married woman over 35 who has entered the job market to supplement family income brings a different attitude toward her work than her husband who is forced to rely on his job as the main support for him and his family. Because she is less interested in her work as a source of steady family income, she is likely to have less interest in her conditions of employment and in any effort to better them.

Another new element which the influx of youngsters and older women is bound to bring in its wake is an increasing demand for part-time employment. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that part-time workers will increase 35 per cent, compared with an increase of less than 10 per cent in full-time workers, over the ten-year period. This raises additional problems for unions in many different industries.

A final factor is the changing composition of jobs. There seems to be no let-up in the trend away from manual workers toward clerical, sales and other white-collar categories.

Unions should not be blinded to the fact that the blue-collar group will also be increasing substantially, but the largest anticipated increases are for "professional and technical" and "clerical" workers. Although a number of AFL-CIO affiliates are now

making real progress in these fields, these are not occupations traditionally associated with unionism.

Admittedly, these trends are not new. Many unions have been coping with them as well as with a more hostile climate of public opinion ever since the end of World War II. In the years ahead, these trends in all likelihood will continue to play a major if not an increasing role.

Each union, of course, must meet the problems raised by these developments in the light of its own particular membership and industry situation.

It does seem, however, that many unions will want to review their policies regarding organizing, union structure, collective bargaining and education to make certain that the union is keeping pace with the need for meeting the changing labor force situation.

For those who might find it helpful, here are some of the questions which individual unions might want to ask themselves:

What is the best method of organizing groups of workers which include

a large proportion of youngsters or older women?

To what extent is it necessary to develop new techniques to organize clerical and technical workers more effectively?

How can unions with a broader membership base provide effectively for minority groups of clerical and technical workers?

Are any changes necessary to adapt union methods to the increasing number of women workers?

What policies on such issues as wages and seniority are necessary to provide the best balance between full-time workers and part-time workers?

Does the increased emphasis on skill require any change in attitudes toward wage differentials for skilled workers?

Are special approaches to wages and grievances required to meet the needs of white-collar workers?

What educational methods can be utilized to provide newcomers to the labor movement with an understand-

ing of its history, objectives and programs?

What measures can be taken more effectively to gain general public understanding and support of the need for trade unions for all types of workers?

These are a few of the questions which the coming trends in the labor force will be bringing to the fore. Not all of these issues will be of concern to all unions. Each union will face particular problems which it will have to meet

in its own way.

The facts present a real challenge to American labor. I have indicated the difficulties which unions will face in meeting an increasing number of neutral or even anti-union workers, particularly in what may turn out to be a hostile climate of public opinion.

The job of building unions almost always has to be undertaken against the odds. Perhaps another increase in the odds, by stimulating increased union activity, can actually be turned to good advantage by labor.



### Must Leave Central Bodies

## Locals of Expelled Unions Not Eligible for Membership

**O**FFICERS of all AFL-CIO state and local central bodies have been notified formally of the expulsion of three unions—the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the Bakery Workers led by James Cross and the Laundry Workers International Union.

Under the AFL-CIO constitution and the rules governing state and local central bodies, President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler pointed out, local unions of the three expelled internationals are not eligible for membership in state and local central bodies.

The AFL-CIO officers directed immediate expulsion of Teamster locals from state and local central bodies.

They directed expulsion of local unions of the expelled Bakery Workers which fail to affiliate, in a reasonable time, with the new international, the American Bakery and Confec-

tionary Workers International Union.

State and local central organizations were advised that locals of the Laundry Workers International Union are ineligible for membership in the central bodies. At the same time, however, it was pointed out that AFL-CIO headquarters will assist those locals of the ousted Laundry Workers International Union which “are desirous of maintaining their affiliation with the AFL-CIO in conformity with our standards.”

Such locals will be eligible for charters as directly affiliated local unions “after proper consideration.” It is possible that a new international will be established in the future.

The letter on the Teamsters’ expulsion was as follows:

“On December 6, 1957, by virtue of a roll-call vote, the second constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO expelled from membership the Inter-

national Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America.

“The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America was expelled from the AFL-CIO because of its failure to comply with the directive of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and to correct the abuses set forth in the ethical practices report to the Executive Council.

“Therefore, in accordance with the provisions of the AFL-CIO constitution, Article 4, Section 6, and the rules governing state and local central bodies, local unions of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters are not eligible for membership in state and local central bodies.

“You are therefore directed to expel local unions of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters from membership in your body immediately.”

*Our last issue was devoted to the second convention of the AFL-CIO. Additional convention reports appear on this and the two following pages.*

## **Parley Acts on Community Service**

ESTABLISHMENT of community service departments in national and international unions and state and local central bodies was urged by the second AFL-CIO convention. The delegates gave unanimous approval to a resolution aimed at strengthening labor's ties with public and voluntary agencies in the health, welfare and recreational fields.

Affiliates setting up community service departments were urged to employ "full-time staffs wherever possible."

AFL-CIO members must "function first and foremost as citizens of their communities," the convention declared. The resolution called for "equitable labor representation" on the boards of public and voluntary agencies.

In addition, the resolution urged that the policies and programs of agencies should not be formulated without labor's participation.

The delegates, in adopting the community service resolution, set up such related goals as mobilization of community resources to assist workers during strikes, layoffs and unemployment; participation in civil defense and disaster relief programs, and development of blood banks, mental health programs, aid for retired workers and assistance for alcoholics.

In a related resolution, the Atlantic City conclave endorsed the work of CARE and urged affiliated organizations and their members to "become donors of food packages and self-help supplies available under the

CARE program, to the end that better international relations will result between the American people and their friends and allies."

The convention saluted Louisiana members of the AFL-CIO for their close support of the Red Cross in relief and rehabilitation operations after Hurricane Audrey.

Noting that union members had helped in recovering and burying the dead, manning mobile canteens presented to the Red Cross by the AFL-CIO, raising funds for the assistance of storm victims and volunteering their skills in a massive building bee to put up new homes for needy families, the convention declared that these AFL-CIO members had written "a bright new chapter in the history of labor's unselfish contribution in the cause of aiding victims of disaster."

The problem of juvenile delinquency also occupied the attention of the delegates. In a resolution they called on trade unionists to "take an active part in the development and execution of community programs aimed at curbing juvenile delinquency."

The resolution called for union-initiated action to persuade municipal governments to assume their full responsibility for fighting juvenile delinquency through the use of government funds to eliminate slums, to provide adequate schools, to insure cultural advantages, proper health standards, recreational facilities and job opportunities for the young people of the nation.

## **Maritime Program Wins Approval**

A STRONG MERCHANT MARINE, owned and operated under the American flag, was urged by the second AFL-CIO convention.

"The maritime industry is vital to our economy and essential to national defense," a resolution approved by the delegates pointed out. "The health of that industry requires a sound, long-range program for the development of a merchant marine sufficient to carry our domestic water-borne commerce and a substantial portion of our foreign commerce on all routes and an end to practices and conditions which today threaten its survival.

"We urge that the federal government take steps to plan and bring into being a comprehensive long-range program for the future development of the maritime industry and, in the process, to provide for the participation and the full use of the contribution of organized labor in the maritime field.

"We urge the elimination of the so-called 'effective control' concept applied under the present policies of the government, which has the effect of encouraging the transfer of American-owned ships to foreign flags and the construction of American-owned ships in foreign yards, thus threatening the long-range survival of the American merchant marine.

"We condemn the continuing transfer of American vessels to runaway flags as destructive of fair wage levels, working conditions and safety standards. We call upon Congress to enact the remedial legislation necessary to halt the further transferring of American ships to foreign flags at the expense of the American maritime worker and the national defense and to bring under the American flag those foreign flag ships now owned by Americans."

The comprehensive maritime resolution drafted by the Resolutions Committee called for an end to the con-



struction of ships in foreign yards for American ship-owners and the U.S. government in the offshore procurement program. The resolution also called for a cessation of threats to decrease or eliminate medical facilities for seamen.

The International Labor Organization was commended for its fruitful work in this field. The parley lauded the ILO's efforts to establish "decent minimum standards of wages, hours and conditions of work in the maritime industry throughout the world."

The delegates called for the enactment of "proper" federal legislation to guarantee recognition of the hiring hall "as the proper medium for employment in all industries in which its use has been an accepted practice."

The resolution further said:

"We urge the preservation and proper administration

## **Higher Pay Is Asked For U.S. Employes**

PRESIDENTIAL VETOES of measures to give government workers higher pay were scored by the Atlantic City convention. The effect of the vetoes, the delegates said, has been to deny Uncle Sam's employes the purchasing power needed to keep pace with "ever-increasing" price boosts.

Repeated vetoes of wage legislation since 1954 cannot be justified on economic or moral grounds, the convention asserted in approving a special Resolutions Committee statement on the government employes' legislative program.

"A policy which persists in maintaining low wages not only disregards the dignity of the worker," the delegates agreed, "but denies him a just share in the fruits of his productivity."

Full support of the entire AFL-CIO was pledged to the government employes' unions in their efforts to win approval of their legislative program in the new session of Congress. The program, in addition to calling for increased pay for postal and other federal workers, asked statutory recognition of the unions in which Uncle Sam's toilers hold membership.

Such recognition, the delegates pointed out, would be "in keeping with modern advanced industrial relations practices."

The resolution approved by the convention spelled out a total of nineteen legislative goals intended to secure economic justice for federal workers. Separate resolutions called for hospital and medical insurance for government employes and other improvements in fringe benefits.

The Resolutions Committee's special statement, after recalling that government workers are forbidden to strike to enforce their economic demands, said that this legal prohibition imposes "a special and specific obligation" on the government to deal "fairly, speedily and adequately" with the salary needs of its employes.

"This it has not done," the statement said.

of Public Law 664, the so-called '50-50' law, and we oppose the attacks now being made upon this law by the State and Agriculture Departments and foreign shipowners and all other efforts to weaken its application. We further urge the government to initiate a program designed to assure that at least 50 per cent of our ore and oil imports are carried in American flag ships.

"We oppose the continued operation of the Military Sea Transportation Service in competition with private United States shipping and the consequent deprivation of the benefits of trade union representation of the workers involved.

"We favor an equitable program of subsidization as necessary to a stronger and healthier American merchant marine and to its ability to compete effectively with low-wage foreign competitors."

## **Railroad Workers Get Backing on Benefits**

LIBERALIZED BENEFITS for railroad workers and their beneficiaries under the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Act were urged by the Atlantic City convention. A resolution approved by the delegates called on Congress to pass bills which would amend the Railroad Retirement Act by increasing benefits of every kind 10 per cent and liberalizing the provisions of the law affecting survivors, women workers and disability.

Legislation sought by railway employes would also change the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act by increasing the daily benefit rate from 50 to 60 per cent of the pay a worker received in his last rail employment. Other bills endorsed by the convention would raise the maximum daily benefit from \$8.50 to \$10.20, provide for the payment of jobless benefits on Sundays and holidays and make other improvements.

An anti-labor proposal by Senator John W. Bricker was condemned by the convention. The Ohio solon has been seeking a change in the Railway Labor Act which would limit and restrict the right of certain employes to organize. This purpose would be accomplished by altering the definitions of "employee" and "subordinate official."

Another resolution charged relaxation of safety standards, leading to "an alarming increase in railroad wrecks and the resultant toll in deaths and injuries among passengers and workers."

### **PAY TV IS REJECTED**

UNANIMOUS APPROVAL was given by the Atlantic City convention to a resolution voicing labor's opposition to pay television. Free television must be maintained "in the public interest," the resolution declared.

The delegates called on AFL-CIO members to exert themselves "to defeat those who are trying to penalize the public and destroy free TV." The AFL-CIO was directed to notify the FCC about labor's stand.



# ***Labor's Civil Rights Stand Reaffirmed at Atlantic City***

RENEWED SUPPORT of Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation in public schools, public transportation and places of public accommodation was pledged by the second biennial convention of the united labor movement. A resolution approved by the delegates assembled at Atlantic City hailed these decisions of the high court as "a heart-warming reaffirmation of the democratic American principles that are embodied in the Constitution of the United States."

"We call upon President Eisenhower," the convention said, "to recommend and Congress to enact legislation that will endorse and support—by implementing—constitutional guarantees of civil rights, including those affirmed by the Supreme Court decisions. We call upon the Executive Branch to make use of its full authority to effect implementation of these decisions."

The convention urged the National Labor Relations Board to adopt a policy that "use of race-hate propaganda during union organization campaigns is deemed to be interference with and coercion of employes and constitutes an unfair labor practice." In addition, the Board was asked to take the position that the use of such propaganda "will be sufficient grounds for setting aside an election upon request of the union."

The resolution on civil rights noted that the AFL-CIO, in its first two years, has carried forward "with diligence and vigor" its policy of equal rights and equal opportunities for all.

"Our federation has taken firm steps," the resolution said, "to give practical application to its non-discrimination policy and to win for it widest acceptance both within the ranks of labor and in the community at large. Dedicated to bring about full and equal rights for all Americans in every field of life, the AFL-CIO has provided leadership in the American community in taking timely actions to affirm and to secure these rights."

It was recalled that following merger the Executive Council, assisted by the Committee on Civil Rights, had promptly launched "a number of practical programs to implement the principle of non-discrimination" set forth in the AFL-CIO constitution.

"In this work, prior consideration was given to the removal of discrimination within the ranks of the AFL-CIO itself," it was related. "For the enduring goal of our federation is to assure to all workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, their share in the full benefits of union organization."

Citing organized labor's emphasis upon the assurance of equal employment opportunity, the convention voiced satisfaction that "the use of non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining contracts has been extended and now effectively bars discrimination in hire, tenure and conditions of employment, as well as in advancement to

a better job, in a major portion of unionized establishments."

The Atlantic City gathering recommended that AFL-CIO affiliates set up internal civil rights committees and machinery for effective administration of a "meaningful" civil rights program within their ranks, "working in close cooperation with the Civil Rights Committee and the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO."

"We recommend," the convention also said, "that our affiliates insist on non-discrimination by employers in hire, tenure and conditions of employment and in advancement of their employes."

"We urge our unions to include a non-discrimination clause in every collective bargaining agreement they negotiate and to provide for effective administration of such a clause."

"We recommend that all our affiliates take the initiative in assuring equal opportunity in all apprenticeship training and vocational training programs."

The parley reiterated labor's desire to see Congress enact an enforceable national fair employment practices law. In addition, the delegates called for enactment of such laws by all states and cities and for "strengthening of such existing laws where necessary to ensure their effectiveness."

## **VIOLATORS SHOULD LOSE CONTRACTS**

The federal government was urged to withdraw contracts from any company "consistently guilty" of violating the non-discrimination policy.

"We pledge our continued cooperation with the President's Committee on Government Contracts," the convention said, "and ask our affiliates to make sure that employers with whom they deal, holding federal contracts, adhere to the letter and spirit of the non-discrimination clause required in each government contract."

Despite its apparent weakness, the new Civil Rights Act was hailed as "a significant forward step in the ever-continuing struggle for human rights." Labor will look to the Civil Rights Commission and the Department of Justice, the convention said, to "act vigorously" to carry out the law's objectives.

In regard to the Little Rock situation, the parley said:

"While supporting President Eisenhower's action, we nevertheless feel morally obligated to express our keen disappointment, shared by millions of other Americans, at the failure of President Eisenhower and his administration to provide vigorous and positive leadership and initiative essential for the implementation of the historic Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954."

"This failure created the tragic political and moral vacuum which encouraged the attitudes manifested in the Little Rock incident."

# Rough Days for Italy's Reds

By HARRY GOLDBERG

**T**HE crisis afflicting the Communist Party of Italy, which had been slowly gathering force for the past few years, has now become so apparent that it can no longer be disavowed by the leaders of the party.

At a recent meeting of the central committee of the party, Amendolà, the organization secretary, had to admit the sad facts of the situation. He acknowledged an overall national loss of membership of 10 per cent in one year, claiming 1,300,000 members as against 2,000,000 the year before. Since the party had claimed 2,200,000 the year before that, it is clear that there has been a loss of 400,000 members in two years. That is no mean loss in such a short period.

These are just the bare-bone figures. Concretely, they signify, first and foremost, a great loss of influence over workers in the factories, a corresponding loss of influence over the youth and the women, the resignation of some of its top leaders and the breaking away of some of the most important intellectuals around the party.

The loss of membership, the lowering of morale, the lessening of the number of hard-core activists and the generally reduced party activity have resulted in a substantial lowering of the annual financial "take" of the party. As a result, important training schools for women and youth have shut down, and *L'Unita*, the national daily paper of the party, has given up its editions in Turin and Genoa, key industrial cities. Four years ago

the national circulation of *L'Unita* had reached a peak of 1,500,000. Now it is down to about 300,000.

The crisis, therefore, for Italy's Communist Party in all its aspects—organizational, ideological, financial, etc.—is real and serious.

The spearhead of the drive to reduce the influence of communism has undoubtedly been the activity of CISL and UIL, the country's two democratic union federations.

Their uphill battle of many years against Communist domination of the Italian labor movement has finally borne fruit, especially during the last two years.

By the end of 1956 the democratic labor federations had practically reached parity

with the CGIL in the shop steward elections in the factories. In 1957 the CGIL was running well under 50 per cent nationally.

In most of the large factories CISL and UIL together have captured the majority from the CGIL. In many of these factories CISL, the larger of the two democratic trade union federations, has by itself captured the majority of votes and seats. The CGIL has definitely been reduced to a minority position in the organized Italian labor movement. This is a fact of the greatest social significance.

The tactical zigzags of the Russian Communist Party under Khrushchev in its attempt to contain the increasing social dissatisfaction inside Russia and maintain control of its satellite empire in Eastern Europe and, above all, the bloody Soviet repres-

sion of last year's Hungarian revolution have contributed to the lowering of the prestige of communism in Italy, lessened its moral attraction and lost it influence both inside and outside of the party.

It would be a dangerous illusion, however, to think that communism is finished in Italy. The Communist Party may be down, but it is far from out. It is still the largest Communist Party west of the Iron Curtain. It still has its substantial hard core of loyal, fanatic activists whom no ideological or moral considerations can affect. In Togliatti it has a wily leader. The slickest and most adaptive of opportunists, he has outlived all of his old colleagues and always landed on his feet, no matter what internal "crises" he has had to face.

The democratic forces of Italy are dangerously at odds. The old democratic coalition of four parties, the Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats, the Liberals and the Republicans, which has seen Italy safely through ten years of trials, has broken down, seemingly beyond repair. The democratic parties themselves are internally divided into warring sections. The latter situation is in great part the dead-sea fruit of the illusory desire for Socialist unification between the Social Democratic Party of Saragat and the Socialist Party of Nenni, a Communist stooge for a decade.

This obsession with Socialist unification has hopelessly divided the Social Democrats into four competing currents, divided the Republican Party into two parts, worsened the relationship between these two parties and the Christian Democrats, and helped to bring about the downfall of the Segni government, the last democratic coalition government.

The irony of all this is that, with



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the damage done, the Socialist Party, after pretending to have broken with the Communist Party, has recently moved closer to world communism. Nenni, in his answer to Khrushchev's provocative letter recently sent to the Socialist parties of Western Europe on the Middle East situation, agreed fully with the Soviet line in every fundamental respect.

Togliatti is now strongly pressing Nenni for the reconstitution of the "people's front" for the coming elections—and he would be a rash prophet indeed who predicted the impossibility of such a development.

All this division among Italy's democratic forces naturally brings grist to the mill of the Communists.

First of all, the Christian Democrats, the ruling party, must renounce the tendency toward political monopoly which some of them desire, decide not to play with the right-wing parties which others want and avoid flirtation with Nenni's Socialist Party which still others exhibit.

Also, unless the Social Democrats and the Republicans overcome their persistent illusions regarding Nenni's

purported good will and sincerity, mend their internal divisions and help restore the old harmony that existed among the democratic parties, it is hardly excluded that the Communist Party of Italy will recoup much of its lost ground in the elections due to be held next spring.

In this connection, it is to be hoped that the two democratic trade union federations—CISL and UIL—can find their way to greater cooperation and ultimate democratic trade union unity, which would assure keeping the CGIL in the minority position in the labor movement to which it has finally been reduced.

Recently the Communists have been helped by the Soviet sputniks. The lack of vision and the penny-pinching under our present Administration aided the Soviet Union in attaining its greatest psychological and propagandistic victory in years.

The sputniks appear to have all but removed from the minds of men the memory of the bloody repression of the Hungarian revolution and lessened the moral opprobrium attached to world communism and its cruelty.

The Communist Party of Italy is naturally trying to ride on the coattails of this temporary Soviet advantage, trumpeting constantly the superiority of the "socialist" over the "capitalist" system. Nothing succeeds like success, and the Communist Party has definitely recouped some lost ground because of the Soviet earth satellites.

Unless the West learns its lesson from the shock of the sputniks, mends its fences, closes its ranks and exploits to the full its still far greater scientific potential and know-how, to offset the temporary advantage gained by Soviet Russia, things will go from bad to worse. It is to be hoped that the first steps already taken in this direction will be pursued to their logical end.

The Communist Party of Italy ultimately stands or falls with the totalitarians of Russia. World communism can be first stopped, then contained and ultimately defeated only by the unbreakable solidarity of a free world firmly dedicated to the democratic ideals of bread, peace, freedom and justice for all peoples.

## Conway Radiates Confidence

THE acting president of the new American Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union is a tall, soft-spoken man who radiates warm and quiet confidence, a Press Associates interviewer reports. The new union was chartered by the AFL-CIO on December 12 following the expulsion of the old bakery union headed by James Cross.

The acting head of the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers is Daniel E. Conway. He speaks deliberately and uses carefully thought-out phrases, the labor news agency reporter says.

"In some twenty years of serving the membership," he told the newsmen, "I have found the members to be conservative, honest, straightforward and hard-working people who will not tolerate Cross' practices."

In his conversation with the representative of Press Associates, Mr. Conway stressed that it is the new American Bakery and Confectionery Workers, not the old Cross organization, that is carrying on the union's tradition.

"Ours has always been an essentially clean organization," he said. "There had been no scandal attached to it. When Cross took over, it started to go down hill. We feel we are carrying on the old tradition."

Acting President Conway and his associates, including Curtis Sims, secretary-treasurer of the old Cross union, are pleased at the conspicuous progress made by the ABCW in the first few weeks of its existence.

Seventy-six locals with an approximate membership of 50,000 have already affiliated with the new union. They acted after voting at local union meetings to break their ties with the ousted organization.

He added that it was physically impossible to bring members over at a faster rate, even with the cooperation of the AFL-CIO staff. In addition, some locals which have pledged their cooperation with ABCW are waiting until the Cross convention in Cincinnati in March to make the final effort to force Cross to resign.

Meanwhile, in new offices on Connecticut Avenue in Washington, there

is bustling activity as ABCW officers plan their campaign to win over all the bakery and confectionery workers in the nation.

The old bakery union had approximately 150,000 members so that the campaign takes careful planning, knowledge and the ultimate in devotion. Mr. Conway does not seem overwhelmed by the task ahead.

"We take it day by day," he told the Press Associates reporter.

His deep trade union background probably makes the job easier. His father, the late Daniel P. Conway, was an ardent member of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

"I got my trade union start early," his son recalls. "I participated in my first Labor Day parade at the age of seven."

The younger Dan Conway achieved some prominence in 1936 when he led a strike in Los Angeles. In 1937 he became an international representative. In March of the following year he was named a vice-president.

He was a leader in the Integrity Committee established last March.



# Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►William C. Doherty, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, urged improved efficiency in Post Office Department operations in testimony last month before the Senate Post Office Committee. He called for an increase in first-class and air-mail rates, but he made it clear there should be no tie-in between rates and wage increases.

►One of the finest COPE collection drives in the nation was staged last year by Local 477, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in San Bernardino, Calif. Voluntary contributions exceeding \$2000 represent an average of over \$3 per member, says a COPE report.

►Joseph P. O'Lone, former president of the Typographical Union's local in Washington and a one-time secretary of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, is dead at 84. He had worked for the old Washington *Times-Herald* for twenty-seven years before his retirement in 1950.

►Sales and net earnings of manufacturing corporations dipped slightly in the third quarter of 1957 but stayed at or near record levels, the Federal Trade Commission reports. For the first nine month sales were six per cent higher than a year earlier, while net earnings were about the same.

►Radford Cope, a suspended international representative of the United Textile Workers, has been ordered reinstated by Peter M. McGavin, the AFL-CIO's monitor, following a hearing in Washington.

►At Dayton, Ohio, three divisions of General Motors are laying off 900 employees. Going off the payroll are 400 workers at Delco Products, 300 at Inland Manufacturing and 200 at Moraine Products.

►Two hundred men were initiated by Toronto Local 117 of the Plasterers in an impressive ceremony. The oath of obligation was given by Vice-President Edward J. Leonard.

►The board of the Screen Actors Guild has voted to serve sixty-day notice of cancellation of contract on Republic Pictures and its subsidiary, Studio City Television Productions. The AFL-CIO union is irked at Republic's failure to negotiate for additional payments to actors in motion pictures recently released to NBC for television use.

►February 1 is the deadline for entries in the American Newspaper Guild's seventeenth annual Heywood Broun Award contest. All employees in the union's jurisdiction are eligible, whether they are members or not. Broun, a noted liberal columnist, was a leader in the establishment of the ANG and served as its president in the Thirties.

►The week beginning January 19 was scheduled to be observed by Protestant churches throughout the country as Church and Economic Life Week. The theme for the annual observance, sponsored by the National Council of Churches of Christ, was "Faith and Daily Work: the Task of Christian Laymen."

►A strike by workers who make ladies' hats ended in victory after four days. The hundreds of manufacturers in the industry met almost all of the demands presented by the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers. It was the first full-scale walkout in a quarter of a century.

►About 250 employees of Leon F. Swears, Inc., of Johnstown and Gloversville, N.Y., voted unanimously to affiliate their Independent Knit Woolen Workers with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The vote to join the AFL-CIO union was taken at a special membership meeting.

►Joseph A. Mazur has been appointed as general counsel of the New York State Labor Department. He has been director of political and educational activities for Local 22, Ladies' Garment Workers, and an examiner for the National Labor Relations Board.

►Britain has become the first member nation of the International Labor Organization to ratify the forced labor convention adopted at the annual conference last June. The convention requires each country which ratifies it "to take effective measures to secure the immediate and complete abolition of forced or compulsory labor."

►West German labor will continue to press its campaign for a reduction of working hours in the public services, Waldemar Reuter told a press conference at Duesseldorf. He is a member of the DGB's executive board.

►Manufacturing workers had a more favorable injury record during the third quarter of 1957 than in any previous third quarter, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor reports.

►Unemployment has risen sharply in Connecticut. The State Labor Department reports that 46,400 were out of work in mid-December, as compared with 22,400 a year earlier. This was an increase of 107 per cent.

►The future for efficient secretaries will be bright, according to a new publication of the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor. The report cautions that emphasis is being placed on the well-qualified worker.

►COPE reports splendid response by local unions across the nation to a request for information regarding the registration of their members. More than 500 locals sent in registration data in one month's time.

►The United Auto Workers turned over three thirty-minute television programs on successive Sundays to major religious groups in the Detroit area for the presentation of holiday religious shows.

►William R. McComb, who was Wage-Hour Administrator from 1947 until he resigned in 1955, died in Washington following two operations.



# From Other Labor Publications

## A Grim Warning

From Glass Horizons

Near the beginning of its initial report, the special studies project of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund states, in reference to the military aspect of our international security:

"All is not well with present U.S. security policies and operations."

The startling evaluation of our present position is the first of a series of reports on various areas of our national life. The project was formed in 1956 to "explore the problems and opportunities confronting the United States over the next ten to fifteen years."

This first report reaches the shocking conclusion that the United States "is rapidly losing its lead in the race of military technology." The overriding impression conveyed by the report is that we are currently negotiating with Russia not from a position of strength but from weakness.

If we do not greatly increase our expenditures for armaments, pending some dependable disarmament becoming a fact, we will be in much greater jeopardy than we are today.

Commenting on the needed expenditures, the report states:

"When the security of the United States and of the free world is at stake, cost cannot be the basic consideration. The cold war cannot be won and a hot war cannot be avoided without a major effort.

"This is clearly not a time for complacency. It is just as clearly not a time for hysteria. What is required throughout the country is an attitude of sustained and informed determination."

## Budget for an Emergency

From AFL-CIO News

President Eisenhower, in his State of the Union message to Congress, admitted that many people—presumably including the President himself—had underestimated the psychological effect of the Russian sputniks. It is also possible that in his budget for the next fiscal year the President has continued to underestimate the tone of public opinion.

For instance:

Despite the size of the budget—\$73.9 billion—its provisions for national defense expenditures, including missile research and development, show a rise of less than one billion.

The President, in a series of requests that will obviously win praise from the most reactionary circles, called for major slashing of funds from a long series of social welfare projects. In other cases he recommended that social welfare functions be transferred to the states, which neither now nor in the past have shown any ability to handle them properly.

The budget's estimates of income suggest a big upswing in tax revenue. In the absence of new taxes, these could come only from a terrifically fast pull-out from the present recession—an optimism which few if any economists expect to happen at the speed envisaged by the budget.

Back in 1954, after the Korean armistice took place, the Eisenhower Administration took the lead in pushing for tax cuts for big business and wealthy individuals. Only a few crumbs in tax benefits went to middle and lower income families.

Now the country stands at the beginning of another emergency—the need for overcoming the scientific lead which the Russians seem to have wrested from us. Logic would seem to call for a restoration of at least some of the taxes which big business and the rich used to pay until the Republicans bailed them out.

That is not the program the President is pushing.

We should know that a program of continuing to favor the big profit corporations—while slashing social welfare projects and ducking the issue of the need for more schools and homes—is not the way to meet the emergency in which America and the free world now find themselves.

## Inflation and Wages

From Free Labor World

Rather than getting ready for a war on wage increases and on trade union bargaining strength, governments should deal with the real source of the present difficulties. The danger that unwise, general deflationary measures may succeed in stabilizing prices only at the expense of arresting increases in production and of inducing a recession and unemployment is very real indeed.

The free trade union movement will continue to oppose such policies.



HAVE YOU CONTRIBUTED?

We do not say that the fight against inflation and rising prices is the sole responsibility of governments. Employers have a heavy burden of responsibility as well. And so have the trade unions.

We do not accept all the responsibility, but we do not shirk that which is properly ours. However, when nothing or too little is done to hold down prices, we cannot abandon our duty to protect the workers' living standards through compensating increases in wages.

When profits remain high or are rising, it is unreasonable to call on the trade unions not to advance claims for wage increases. When governments pursue policies which hamper increases in production, or when monopolistic practices have the same effect, it is not possible for the trade unions to accept this state of affairs as a point of departure in collective bargaining and agree that wages should not rise on the ground that production has not risen.

In an expanding economy, in which production and productivity rise and in which everybody willing to work can find employment, there will always be scope for increases in the real purchasing power of wages without price increases. This type of economy is the major objective of the free trade union movement.

In such an expanding and dynamic economy the free trade union movement will shoulder its two-fold responsibility of seeing that workers have their equitable share in prosperity and of insuring that changes in wages do not lead to inflation. But they and the workers they represent will refuse to be a scapegoat for the faults of others. In particular they will certainly refuse to carry alone the burden of the struggle against inflation.

## A Sound Suggestion

From United Association Journal\*

AFL-CIO Metal Trades Department President James Brownlow has made a sound suggestion in the labor relations field. Speaking before the Society for Personnel Administration, Mr. Brownlow suggested that the federal government bargain with its employees.

Mr. Brownlow said:

"There is no justification for the federal government not giving its employees by legislation all of the rights and benefits of organization and collective bargaining which it requires of other employers."

He supported his suggestion by concrete evidence of collective bargaining in practice in the TVA, the Government Printing Office and other U.S. operations.

We think the suggestion that unionization rights be accorded generally is a sound one and hope that we will see the day when it becomes a practical reality throughout the federal establishment.

\* Magazine of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry.

# WHAT THEY SAY

**George Meany**—Civilized mankind must never forget and never forgive the Communist



tortures, deportations and murders of Hungary's bravest sons and daughters. No one who is sincere in his professions of democratic ideals

and practices can be neutral or oblivious to the agony and grief of Hungary. Humanity is eternally indebted to the Hungarian people. Through their bravery and sacrifices they have taught mankind very valuable lessons.

These lessons are especially valuable today when the Soviet imperialists are more arrogant and brazen than ever in their threats against world peace and human liberty.

In Hungary mankind has lost a major battle—but not the war—for human freedom. There is cause for deep concern. But there is no reason for despair and inaction.

The will to freedom cannot be permanently crushed. The will to freedom is bound to triumph—if we who are free and cherish our liberty help those who are still under the iron heel of dictatorship and despotism.

Let us keep the Hungarian issue alive in the minds and hearts of the entire civilized world.

**Aime J. Forand, Congressman from Rhode Island**—Last August I introduced a bill to increase the benefits payable under the federal old-age, survivors and disability insurance program and to provide insurance against the



costs of hospital, nursing home and surgical service for persons eligible for old-age and survivors insurance benefits. My purpose in introducing the measure at that time was to permit my colleagues in Congress and all interested individuals and groups

to give the proposals thorough study in the period before the opening of the 1958 session.

While this bill would bring substantial improvements to many millions of Americans, its provisions are modest. They have been limited deliberately to facilitate enactment of this much-needed measure in 1958. They deal with social insurance only.

**Walter P. Reuther, president, United Auto Workers**—At home and



abroad there are some who would like nothing better than to utilize this moment to wreck our unions and destroy our unity. The Communist world has long recognized that its chances of success are enhanced when free unions are enchained. Despite this, there are powerful forces at home who would impose crippling legislation upon our movement and weaken our collective bargaining efforts.

Our job is to bring to the American people the truth concerning our unions, their purposes and the gains that we have helped to achieve for all our citizens. The people of this nation will not tolerate a return to the industrial sweatshops that existed before we formed our industrial unions. By evolving a dynamic program for further progress, we will be taking an important step in defeating reaction and in rallying America for progress.

Free industrial labor has produced an abundance undreamed of even a short decade ago. We have before us a unique opportunity to banish want and deprivation and to create in the foreseeable future a world of culture and leisure in which our material problems will be largely solved.

Automation, electronics, the new chemistry and the atom give assurance of an era of abundance. The key to this era lies largely in our collective bargaining. Unions have pioneered to bring forth a measure of security for millions. The future

promises even greater gains for all if our unions will continue to press forward and if we require management to face up to its true responsibilities to the whole community.

**President Eisenhower**—There was one basic purpose implicit in every



discussion and debate of the conference of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. That was the pursuit of a just peace. Not once did I hear any slightest hint of saber-rattling or of aggressive intent. Of course, all of us were concerned with developing the necessary spiritual, economic and military strength of our defensive alliance. We are determined that there must be no war. But we never lost sight of our hope that the men in the Kremlin would themselves come to understand their own need for peace, as well as our sincerity in desiring a just composition of differences between West and East.

The heads of the NATO governments and their associates labored earnestly to continue the strengthening of our common security. We all realize that adequate free world strength—moral, economic, and military—is under present circumstances our most effective deterrent to war.

**Paul Douglas, Senator from Illinois**—I say that great wrongs are perpetrated upon the



Negroes of this country, in all sections of the country. They are discriminated against in employment and in housing. They are discriminated against so far as schooling is concerned. They are discriminated against in voting, which frequently they can only do at the peril of their lives. They are not assured of a fair trial and frequently do not receive it.

I regard all this as a great blot upon the American people and as unworthy of the ideas upon which this republic was founded. It is, in the deepest sense of the term, un-Christian.